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1. This will be the most important congressional election in our history.
2. The forces of the appeasers, the reactionaries, yes, and the American Fascists are already organized, well financed and hard at work to elect their candidates.
3. *Every real friend of democracy must make the job of electing a genuine American Congress his personal responsibility—from now until November.*

The Union for Democratic Action

is prepared to throw all its forces into this fight. This analysis of the men and the issues, prepared by the UDA in coöperation with the editors of The New Republic, is the opening gun of a campaign to bring the facts to the attention of American voters. *We have those facts!* And we have experienced organizers, a competent Washington office, and offices and groups working in key communities throughout the country. This is your opportunity to help make this election a two-front fight for democracy AND VICTORY!

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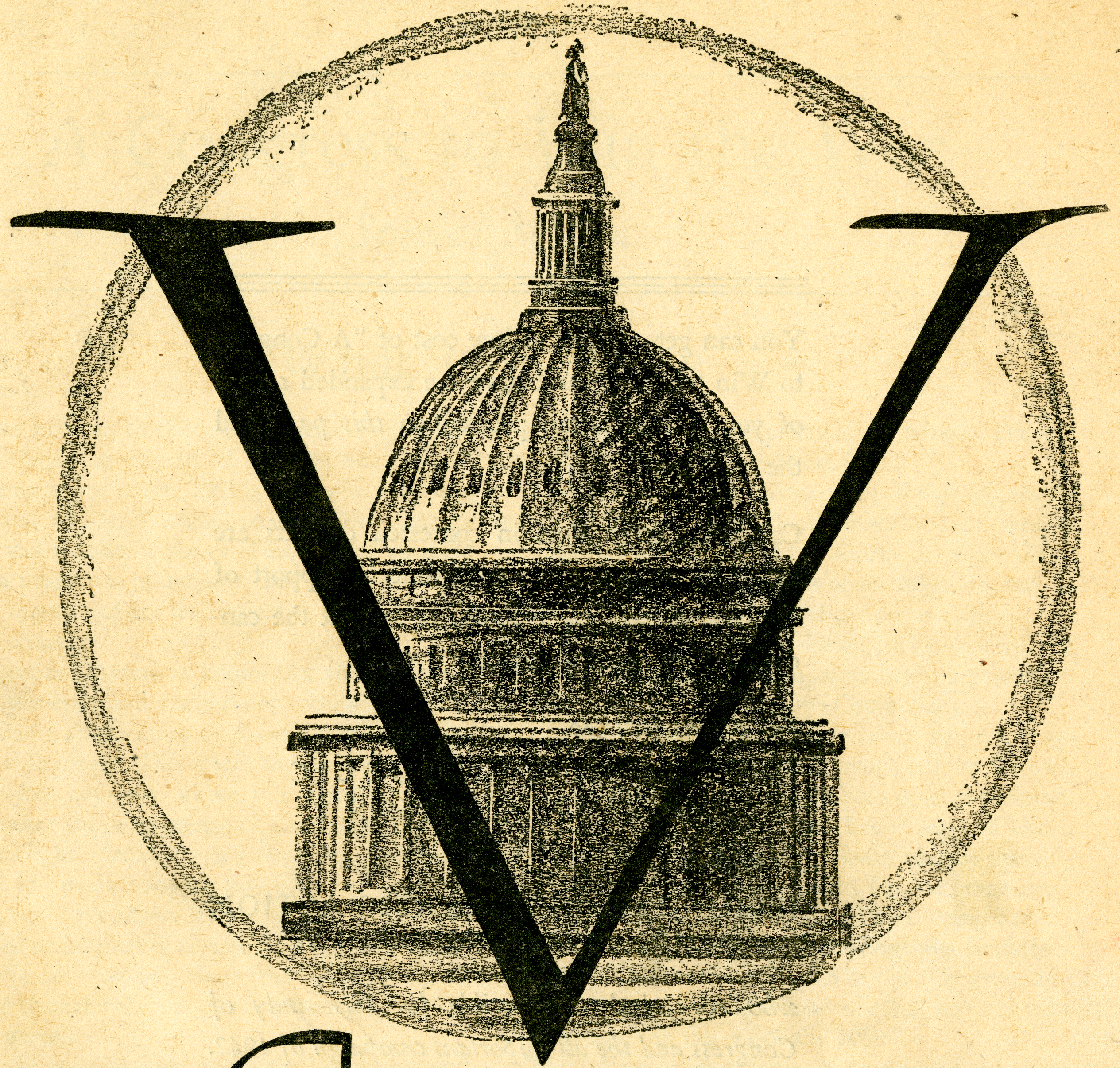

A Congress TO WIN THE War

The Men and Issues in this year's Campaign, with a chart showing how each Congressman voted on the twenty most vital foreign and domestic measures

The New REPUBLIC for May Eighteenth, 1942 IN TWO PARTS • Part Two

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who are jointly responsible for this study of Congress and the all-important campaign of 1942.

A Congress to Win the War

Special Section

What Is at Stake

WE ARE AT WAR. In this war our personal liberties, our American concept of life and our national independence are at stake. This is total war involving our total way of life. We shall emerge from it either free men and women or slaves. This kind of struggle calls for a toughness of thought and action that will test every resource of our discrimination and will in the years just ahead.

Every genuine American knows that this war must be fought tirelessly and without any compromise until we have won a total victory over our enemies individually and collectively. This means that we cannot trust in public office any man whose record indicates that he lacks either the intelligence or the moral courage to wage this fight relentlessly to a successful conclusion. We certainly cannot now put into places of responsibility men who have shown sympathy with the ideas of our enemies or hospitality to any kind of appeasement of them. We can trust only those who have given clear evidence of their devotion to democracy on all fronts at home and abroad.

During the next six months we shall nominate and elect the entire membership of our national House of Representatives and one-third of the members of the United States Senate. These will be the men who for the next two years will control our war effort and who, if the enemy collapses, will make the peace. In view of the implications of this responsibility, it is not too much to say that this is the most important congressional election since the close of the Civil War.

Traditionally our congressional elections, in years when no presidential campaign is conducted, are marked by comparative indifference and a small vote. We have always had a tendency to take Congress lightly. This year, however, we must cast off our lethargy and register our will to win the war by electing only such men and women as will unequivocally support every measure aimed at the defeat of tyranny and the triumph of liberty. This election is a test of our fitness to be free, for it is an unmistakable call to us to exercise the full responsibilities of our citizenship.

Think of the powers which Congress exercises:

1. It controls the magnitude and type of our war effort because it passes all appropriations;
2. It sets the conditions of enlistment and service for the men in the armed forces;
3. It determines the practices of industry and the standards of labor on the home front;
4. It controls the appointments of all high officers and of the men charged with administration of national affairs, through its power to confirm or reject them;
5. It dominates all agencies of investigation, such as the FBI, through its control of the purse-strings;
6. It has the power to investigate all public matters and officials through its own committees, a power unhappily exemplified by the Dies Committee;
7. It can serve as a sounding board for every appeaser in it, and hence as a dangerous platform for such a man if phony terms for a negotiated peace are offered.

In a sentence, Congress can hamstring our effort, intimidate our administrative officials, confuse the public mind and agitate a false peace. On the other hand, it can implement our desire for action, constructively aid and correct our administrators, engender confidence and hasten the victory which can be the only ground of peace. Our votes will determine whether we shall have a Congress to do the one or the other.

The following pages give the records of the members of the present House and of the Senators who are seeking reëlection. The accompanying articles interpret these records. The whole constitutes a handbook for practical use in every state and district.

The reader will quickly see that the tests applied make no distinctions between Democrats and Republicans in terms of their party affiliations. Mere party tags are dwarfed into insignificance by the issue with which we as a people have now to deal. We ask but one question: Does this candidate's record show that he has consistently understood the implications of the battle for freedom at home and abroad, and does it indicate that he has the character to work until full victory for the democratic cause? These are days when men who cannot meet this test are not good enough to lead us.

The time for pity and personal politics is gone. Timeserving politicians cannot supply the statesmanship necessary to our war effort. Our national crisis demands the highest level of political intelligence and action of which we are capable. The most important civilian job from now until November is to elect a Congress to win the war and to make such a peace as will guarantee a world of liberty.

The Record

On November 5 one-third of the members of the Senate and all of the members of the House of Representatives will be placed on trial before the American people. They will be judged on their records.

The two-year record on which these members of Congress will be judged will be: did you aid America to prepare herself for the supreme test of survival which she is now called upon to make; or did you hinder and obstruct that effort? Did you aid or hinder our program of armament production? Did you aid or hinder our program of helping the allies who today are fighting by our side? Did you aid or hinder the building of our strength on the home front?

Every member of Congress will of course plead not guilty. But how many should be sustained? Only the record can answer.

It is a varied record. It is a record often of willful obstruction, distortion, deceit. But it is willful deceit on the part of only a small minority within the Congress, and because all attacks which are leveled against the Congress as such must weaken the faith of our people in our democracy, we cannot overemphasize the fact that it is only a minority which should plead guilty. Our Congress is filled with many outstanding men. It is made up in the main of honest, sincere men who wholeheartedly believe in our democracy. It is the minority of obstructionists within Congress which has given to the entire Congress its bad name. Therefore our democracy demands that the story of the action of this minority be told.

So we turn back to the first days of the Seventy-sixth Congress, the last days of world peace.

The Opening Round

August, 1939: the sky is darkening over Europe as the time of harvest, which brought the world to the brink of war in 1938, again approaches. In Germany, Hitler lifts his young men to a frenzy in violent, scornful attacks upon "degenerate democracy." In Britain and France the people demand that a stand be made against fascist aggression.

In America President Roosevelt makes a last, courageous attempt to hold back the coming war. He asks Congress to repeal the arms-embargo provision of the Neutrality Act in the hope that the Nazis will be checked by the knowledge that America will aid the democracies. In the House of Representatives the obstructionists who distort the President's purpose fail to block repeal. But in the Senate they are successful. Senator Borah scoffs at Secretary Hull's grave warning. "My information is that there will be no war," Borah says. Two months later he is to say, "It was not our intention to prevent war in Europe."

So the repeal of the embargo is killed by the threat of a few willful men in the Senate to filibuster the bill to death. Sadly and with misgiving the President watches the Congress go home. Senator Nye declares triumphantly that the danger of war is less than it has been for years, thanks to America's refusal to encourage the warmongers in the British and French governments. It is thirty-five days before the outbreak of Hitler's War of Annihilation, our War of Survival.

* * *

The declaration of war on September 3, 1939, brought the congressmen back to Washington. It brought Ham Fish back from Europe, where, in August, he had held a conference with Nazi Foreign Minister von Ribbentrop in Salzburg. He then attended the meeting of the Inter-Parliamentary Union at Oslo, where he proposed a second Munich. On August 28, an Associated Press dispatch from Berlin stated that "Representative Fish said today that he believes Germany's claims are 'just.' 'I favor liquidation of the Versailles Treaty in the East,' he added." Fish returned steeped in Nazi propaganda methods. "I found Danzig 97-percent Nazi," he told the Congress. "It was inconceivable to me that there could be a war about Danzig." Later Fish told the House: "We believed that if assurances had not been given . . . there would have been some settlement over Danzig and if war had taken place it would have been in the direction of Soviet Russia."

As ranking minority member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, Fish directed the two-and-a-half-year fight in the House against the government's foreign policy. Fish made the opening speeches in which the line that the opposition was to take was laid down. Fish controlled the opposition speeches and led the caucuses in the House lobbies. Fifty to seventy Republicans consistently followed his leadership, praising his attitude and defending him against attack.

In calling together the special session, the President requested the Congress to place our foreign trade on a cash-and-carry basis. He asked that the arms embargo be lifted and that American ships be banned from the belligerent zones. Both of these were measures of self-defense. The naming of belligerent zones was a necessary precaution. The lifting of the embargo was essential to any allied resistance to the Nazi armies. Britain and France were desperately short of planes, having a combined air force one-quarter the size of Germany's.

Together they had placed orders for more than five thousand planes, but the arms embargo forbade the export of these planes from America. To allow these two nations to finance the construction of more than seventy large factories, providing for a much needed armaments industry, was obviously a defense measure as well as a means of checking German expansion. For "on July 1, 1940," Undersecretary of War Patterson told the Truman Committee, "our munitions industry was virtually nonexistent; quantity production for military airplanes was unknown; we had few facilities for the production of tanks and guns. The government arsenals were wholly inadequate."

Certainly repeal meant taking the side of democracy in the war. Certainly it involved some risk of ultimate involvement, as did letting Germany win. But these were not immediate issues in 1939, although they were in the minds of most congressmen. The sincere concern of these men was shamelessly exploited and distorted by the obstructionists under Fish's leadership.

Fish maintained, first, that repeal was an act of war. Thus he tried to bring all the weight of the anti-war sentiment in Congress to bear against repeal. It was "utterly unmoral, utterly un-Christian and vicious." "This campaign of hysteria, emotionalism, hatred and poisonous propaganda," Fish added, "has for its sole purpose sending American youth to the battlefields."

This falsehood was taken up in Congress. "A bloody, unholy, immoral business," said Senator Clark. "The submersion of our whole economic system and our institutions of government in a sea of blood." "It is but a step short of a declaration of war," asserted Representative Maas, "and one is very likely to follow the other." "Has it come to the point where America must raise a crop of boys every twenty years to be slaughtered in Europe?" asked Representative Engel. Rep. Dewey Short shrewdly played upon the congressmen's hatred of war by assuming that the repeal meant war. "I can see mustard gas eating the flesh from the emaciated bones of the starving and dying," he said. "I can hear the agonizing cries of men with their eyes burned out by liquid fire." A vote for repeal, he implied, was a vote for these horrors.

A second factor which led the Republicans to hesitate in supporting the government's policy was that it meant supporting the President. Hatred of the President was expressed in its extreme form during the debate by a Fish partisan, Clare Hoffman, who called the conservative Representative Woodrum a "New Deal . . . skunk" and added that anyone but a skunk "could smell the stink that goes up from the chicanery in the White House." Once again Fish and his followers attempted to prevent the Republicans from patriotically supporting the government's policy, by playing on this hatred of the President and asserting that any bill passed by Congress at the President's request would aid the President in becoming a dictator. "Roosevelt has already committed this country to go into the war," Fish shouted, and demanded his impeachment. "Repeal of the arms embargo," Fish added, "gives the President . . . the war-making powers of the Congress." "Repeal of the arms embargo," echoed Fish's supporter, Representative Youngdahl, "is the first step towards the loss of freedom and democratic institutions on this continent." "Can the President only serve his country by violating the Constitution?" asked Representative Crawford. "The bill is founded upon the discretionary powers of the President," said Representative Anderson. "Too much discretionary authority has already been vested in the President." "I do not intend to vote our New Deal Führer the vast discretionary authority vested in this fake neutrality bill," said Representative Schaefer, who went on to denounce "Finkelstein, alias Litvinov," and the "British-Israel World Federation."

A third device exploited by the obstructionists was to play upon the distrust of the Allies. In many ugly speeches Fish smeared Britain and France. His remarks were followed by speeches such as that of Representative Alexander, who said: "The death knell of the British empire has been sounded. Do we want to fasten ourselves to the tail of a kite of a rotten, decayed and dying member of the society of nations?" In the Senate, Senator Reynolds implied that the British had sunk the Athenia, with its loss of 263 lives. Senator Clark stated that "Britain and France have placed themselves in the role of aggressors and neither deserve our support nor shall they have it." Senator Nye stated that British persecution was incomparably worse than the crimes of the Nazis. Senator Lundeen spoke of "the sword of the French empire dripping with blood." These Senators fought again the American revolution and the War of 1812. They excoriated Cromwell, and wept for Joan of Arc, murdered by British soldiers.

Fish and the group of obstructionists played also upon two other arguments. They denied at all times that America was in any way threatened by Germany, even going so far as to assert that Britain was more dangerous to America than the Nazis. They exploited at the same time the widespread fear of communism, and argued that the defeat of Hitler might be a disaster. "I do not want to see any American lives sacrificed to oust Hitler and pave the way for communism in Germany," Fish said.

"Confusion, indecision, fear: these," Hitler said, "are my weapons." The Republicans' leadership, under Representative Joseph Martin, accepted the twisted arguments of the obstructionists and instructed its congressmen to oppose repeal. For two and a half years, precisely the same twisted arguments were dragged into every crucial debate in Congress, creating confusion and fear in America. In these ways Hitler's weapons were sharpened for him by Americans.

The Selective-Service Debate

IN AUGUST, 1940, the Senate met to consider the selective-service bill. Germany had overwhelmed France. The Battle of Britain, which reached its height during the debate upon the bill, tested England's strength to the utmost, and, had it been successful, would certainly have been followed by an invasion. In Britain there were 2,000 pieces of artillery of all kinds, enough to defend a few miles of coastline and no more. Britain was almost helpless. Had Britain fallen, Asia and the Western Hemisphere would have lain open before Hitler.

In Britain's most desperate hour, when starvation and defeat were close at hand, President Roosevelt transferred to the British fifty obsolete destroyers. Without any doubt these destroyers saved Britain, and in exchange America was leased bases which greatly strengthened our defenses. The American people eagerly accepted this action; it was endorsed by Wendell Willkie. In Congress, however, the exchange was widely denounced. "Treachery!" Clare Hoffman cried, and demanded that Roosevelt be impeached. "Virtually an act of war," shouted Fish. "An act of war," Representative Hansen answered.

What if Germany had attacked America? What army did the United States have to face the Reichswehr? Enough to defend a part of Rhode Island. "Within the United States we had no field army of any kind," General Marshall told the Truman Committee in 1941. "We had the pieces of about three and a half divisions, approximately 50-percent complete as to personnel. We had virtually no corps troops, almost no army troops or special troops. We had to organize from the ground up."

In 1939 the army was empowered to increase its troops to 227,000 men. At the same time war necessitated the reinforcing of American garrisons abroad. Volunteers were called for, and they responded at the rate of 20,000 a month. If the men who volunteered had ceased to grow older at the moment at which they became soldiers, this volunteer force would have given America an adequate army, as to size, in thirty years. In spirit it would have remained inadequate. It would have been undemocratic, and recruited largely from the unemployed, from men conscripted by hunger and the need of a job.

"We have to have a great many men very quickly," General Marshall warned. "I cannot conceive of being able to obtain them on a voluntary basis." In August, 1940, the selective-service bill was an urgent necessity, not for an aggressive foreign policy, but for defense.

Once again the obstructionists in Congress completely distorted the purpose of the bill and made dictatorship the principal issue of the debate. "Enact peacetime conscription and no longer will this be a free land," Senator Wheeler said. "No longer will a citizen be able to say that he disagrees with a governmental proclamation or edict. Hushed whispers will replace free speech. Secret meetings in dark places will replace free assemblage. Labor and industry, men and women, will be shackled by the chains they themselves forged. If you pass this bill you slit the throat of the last democracy still living; you accord to Hitler the greatest and cheapest victory."

"Totalitarian!" Senator Taft cried. "The Hitler way," Senator Capper said. "Military despotism," added Senator Bulow. "Pass the conscription bill and dictatorship will soon be here." "The fastening of the yoke of militarism upon us," Senator Nye asserted. "It is totalitarianism."

"This bill imposes on our country the National Socialism of Nazi Germany," Fish announced. "It will impose military dictatorship upon us," said Representative Keefe. "Dictatorial and tyrannical," was the cry of Dewey Short. "Inhuman, tyrannical, dictatorial legislation." "A major step toward dictatorship," said Mrs. Bolton. "This bill means military dictatorship and despotism," said Representative Dondero. "It assassinates our American ideals. Hitler methods!" said Representative Sweeney. According to Representative Jonkman, the proponents of the bill were "selling America into the slavery of dictatorship." "It is just such a bill," said Representative Ludlow, "as I would associate with the German Reichstag or the Mussolini-dominated Parliament."

A few congressmen came close to the "better-Hitler-than-Blum" attitude of the French Chamber of 1940. "I do not fear any foreign power as much as I fear the concentration of power in the hands of a single individual" (Roosevelt), Representative Short said. "I consider New Deal leaders more dangerous to the United States than are the totalitarian leaders," said Representative Harness. Representative Barden suggested that the President's motive in asking for the passage of the bill was to establish his dictatorship before the 1940 election.

Throughout the debate the obstructionists denied that fascist aggression endangered America. "Japan has its hands full in its own country," said Senator Bulow. "I don't believe we are in any emergency," Senator Wheeler asserted. "The only emergency is in the minds of a few people who want to go to war." "We should not exaggerate the emergency," Senator Taft argued. "Do we fear Hitler?" cried Fish. "That is preposterous—craven and cowardly." Dewey Short also denied any threat from Germany. "Even if Britain succumbs," Short said in his speech, "do we need this bill? I say no!" He was given a rising ovation by the Republicans.

In the closing hours of the debate Fish suggested to the Democrats that they could save their political skins if they abstained from voting while the Republicans defeated the bill. Fish then introduced an amendment which provided in effect that no men would be drafted until after the November elections. The amendment passed by 185 to 155. The members saw to it, however, that they were not named in a record vote. The bill was then passed by 263 to 145.

Yet the bill was inadequate. The army had not wished to place a limit upon the service of the draftees, but under the pressure of Congress it was led to agree to a limitation of one year. As a result it was necessary, one year later, for the service of the selectees to be extended.

It was a difficult year for the young soldiers. There were inevitable hardships—inadequate food utensils, unfinished, unheated barracks, no transportation, poor training, mud. Worst of all, they had little equipment with which to train. Many of them had enlisted in order to complete their year of training as quickly as possible; they had opportunities and emotional ties in civilian life which made them long to return.

Yet it was necessary to extend their service. General Marshall testified that two-thirds of the army would be disrupted if the law were not changed.

Following the hearings upon the original Selective Service Act, a minority of the House Military Affairs Committee filed a report opposing it. The report was signed by Reps. Dewey Short, L. C. Arends, Paul W. Shafer, Thomas E. Martin, Charles E. Elston and Forrest T. Harness. The report discussed the perils of Fascist aggression and concluded that "the imminence of these perils is pure assumption."

One year later the same minority group, joined by Charles R. Clason, submitted a report against the extension of the draft. "The minority believes that the facts do not warrant a declaration [of national emergency] such as the President and General Marshall would have us make." The report stated, "We would destroy democracy here before we could extend it abroad. . . . To extend the service of selectees would likely be the prelude to another American expeditionary force." The report condemned the administration and the General Staff and added, "Only Congress can keep them in check." It agreed that the failure to extend the service of selectees would cause disruption "but not of the whole organization." The minority was willing to give the President the power to extend the service of the National Guard provided Congress could at any time revoke this power.

This attitude of obstruction was followed by the same small group in the House and Senate. The President could, by declaring a national emergency, have kept the army intact without congressional sanction; again he sought this sanction out of respect for democratic processes. Yet maintaining that he should have acted in order to relieve them of the responsibility, the obstructionists again raised the deliberate falsification of the dictatorship issue. Senator Nye called it "the power that made Hitler and Mussolini." Senator Vandenberg spoke of "a needless expansion of executive authority." Senator O'Daniel, after praising at length the beauties of hillbilly music, called the bill "the path of the dictator." "The democracy will certainly die if pledges are not kept," said Senator Brooks.

"Authority to declare an undeclared war," cried Representative Shafer. Representative Blackney denounced these "new and greater delegations of power to the President." "A complete abdication by Congress," said Representative Mott.

During the debate, Japan moved into China, and the new Japanese Prime Minister Tojo made his first warlike speeches. The resources of France were placed at Hitler's disposal. In the Philippines, the Philippine army was fully mobilized and placed in readiness under General MacArthur.

Yet the minority report stated that "The minority cannot agree that the national interest is imperiled more now than a year ago." Senator Danaher spoke of the "alleged state of national peril." "Oh, it is a dreadful peril," laughed Senator Johnson of California. "All the evidence points to a day-by-day lessening of the peril," said Representative Shafer. "The war scare fails," announced Clare Hoffman. "The bill is entirely unnecessary," said Representative Woodruff. Representative Pheiffer scorned "perils to our national security which have not been proved to exist," and Ditter dismissed Marshall's "dogmatic opinions."

All this two months before Pearl Harbor! Two months before Pearl Harbor the contribution of Martin Dies to the debate was to urge ridding the government of "communists" such as Leon Henderson! Senator Wheeler publicized letters from draftees who spoke of desertion and so extended them his protection. The solution of Senator Wheeler and of at least one-half of the 202 congressmen who opposed the bill was to return to a volunteer army, an idea rejected a year before as entirely impracticable. Yet these men complained of American unreadiness.

In the closing moments of the debate Representative Eliot of Massachusetts, with the support of more than fifty of the President's followers, proposed an amendment which would not have damaged the army. But Representative Dirksen declared, "There will be no compromise." "Do not be lured by this kind of blandishment," Dirksen told the Republicans. "We are faced with a problem of resolving a principle."

The obstructionists spoke of their promises to the draftees, as if their promises were more important than America's safety. They spoke of breaking the faith with a few young men; but what of keeping the faith with America? By a single vote in Congress, in a crucial hour, that faith was sustained.

The Lease-Lend Bill

In the opening months of 1941, the future of the war, of American democracy and of freedom the world over were concentrated into a single issue in the lease-lend bill. In the three months in which the bill was debated in Congress, Yugoslavia resisted the Axis and was overwhelmed; Greece was finally forced to her knees; Britain suffered her most terrible losses in Crete. The isolationist group attempted to present the issue as one of war or peace. But the issue was resistance or surrender.

The President faced this issue. "We are committed to the proposition that principles of morality and consideration for our security will never permit us to acquiesce in a peace dictated by aggressors and sponsored by appeasers," Mr. Roosevelt told Congress in his annual message. In sending the lease-lend bill to Congress early in January, he praised the resistance of the British people. "But," the President added, "the time is near when they will not be able to pay in ready cash. We cannot, and we will not, tell them they must surrender merely because of present inability to pay for the weapons which we know they must have."

In January, 1941, the issue actually was: Would we allow Britain to be starved into capitulation to the Nazis because her means of buying weapons in the United States had been exhausted? By January Britain had paid the United States one and a third billion dollars for arms. She had financed six hundred million dollars' worth of new factories—for us. She had contracted for one and a third billion dollars more of new supplies, to last about four months. She had no resources to contract for any more. "Lacking a formula by which Britain can buy supplies here, I think Britain will just have to stop fighting," Secretary Morgenthau told a Senate hearing on January 28.

In sixteen months of war Britain had beggared her resources in America for the privilege of holding the front lines of democracy. There was no glory in what we had done. We had enriched ourselves, had profiteered from Britain's plight. Would we now tell her that she must capitulate because we had no further interest in a war in which we were not paid at once, or would we place our resources behind her? Despite the President, Senator Wheeler and other obstructionists followed the line of ex-Colonel Lindbergh, declaring openly in favor of "a negotiated peace." A negotiated peace! What could Britain negotiate in January, 1941—helpless and lacking arms—before a triumphant, irresistible Germany? A Hitler-dictated peace, crippling democracy in England and leaving Hitler in command of all his ill gotten gains.

To overcome Britain's lack of resources, while avoiding the stigma of loans, with interest payments and war debts, the lease-lend bill provided that the government could authorize the manufacture of defense articles for other governments whose resistance was vital to our defense, and lease or lend these supplies. In this way the bill heightened the efficiency of the expanding defense program by bringing all procurement under the government. But Britain's need was too desperate to be met by the slowly growing production of American arms. The America Firster, John Cudahy, testified that only the transfer of 800,000 American army rifles to Britain, after Dunkirk, saved Britain from defeat. It was essential that more supplies from American army stocks be sent to Britain. The President in a truly democratic way sought congressional sanction for these transfers in Section One of the lease-lend bill.

When the bill was published, all the resources of the Nazis and the appeasers in America were brought to bear upon it. America First held emergency meetings throughout the nation. The German-American Bund issued emergency instructions to its sympathizers. "Protest against the Treason Bill HR-1776!" the instructions said; "Send your protest to your Senator or Congressman or to Senator Burton K. Wheeler. Write: '*The Congress of the United States has no right to surrender its power to the President.*' "

The minority of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, led by Fish, shared this approach to the bill. "We cannot repeal bankruptcy and we cannot repeal dictatorship," the minority report said. "Under this bill we surrender our domestic way of life now." With sickening hypocrisy, the report stated, "We are all for aid to Britain short of sacrificing our freedom." It proposed to lend Britain two billion dollars, enough to go on fighting and suffering alone for five months. Luther Johnson of Texas exposed this sham. "It is like granting a man who is sinking, money with which to buy a life-belt," Johnson said.

In the lease-lend bill the President sought increased freedom of action to aid Britain. He did not ask for substantially increased powers. An impartial legal authority, George Rublee, declared that "this measure does not add to the powers the President already has as Commander-in-Chief of the nation's armed forces." When, nevertheless, the charge of dictatorship was made, Senator Austin, a Republican from Vermont and an outstanding jurist in the Senate, replied: "The attempt has been made to charge that the bill goes beyond the constitutional limits of Congress, that it creates power. Nonsense! Utter nonsense! There is not in this bill the least attempt to delegate a primary power."

Under Fish's direction, fifty-eight of the sixty-eight Representatives who spoke against the lease-lend bill in debate charged that it created a dictatorship, and fought it principally upon these grounds. Fifty of these men were Republicans. Only three Republicans, James Wadsworth of New York, Charles L. Gifford of Massachusetts and Charles A. Plumley of Vermont, supported the bill.

"This dictator-war-bankruptcy bill," Fish shouted, "this slick device to further regiment America. . . . This betrayal of the constitutional power! . . . Under the guise of aiding democracies and fighting dictatorship abroad it destroys democracy at home and sets up American dictatorship. . . . The passage of this bill would be the death knell of Republican government and virtually the end of Congress. It will leave us with no more authority than the German Reichstag. . . . If the bill passes, I predict that within six months we will have dictatorship comparable to the Nazis and Communists."

"Reichstag! Reichstag!" echoed Representatives Van Zandt and Knutson. "Members who vote for this bill will be voting for . . . an American Reichstag," Representative Ludlow cried. Representative Woodruff denounced "these sinister and suspicious demands for dictatorship powers." "It is portentous, forbidding! Frightful! Stupefying!" gasped Representative Jenkins. "A proposal for setting up a dictatorship!" said Representative Blackney. "A death blow for freedom," Representative Barry of New York cried. Representative Peterson denounced "these unlimited and despotic powers." "The complete abdication of Congress," cried Representative Dondero. "Fascism for America," Representative Pheiffer declared. "These powers make the President a dictator," asserted Representative Ploeser. "The real germ of the bill," said Representative Jenkins, "is the insatiable ambition of the President, backed by the moneyed influences against whom Hitler has committed some special act which they resent." "This bill is a war bill, a dictatorship bill and a bankruptcy bill!" was the cry of Dewey Short. "It would raise up a Hitler in America." "It contains a complete pattern for military dictatorship in this country as powerful and arbitrary as any dictatorship anywhere in the world," declared Representative Winter. "The most colossal bid for one-man power to be found in history," said Representative Reed of New York. "I shall not abdicate in favor of Harry Hopkins, Madam Perkins or Barney Baruch," cried Representative Jones of Ohio. These tendentious arguments were carried to their logical absurdity by Representative Mundt, who declared, "If we pass this bill we would be turning back the pages of freedom 700 years to the days of Magna Carta. All the advancement in human legislative freedom of the past seven centuries would be discarded and we would have to start all over again as they did in 1215."

In the Senate the same distortion was used. "At the moment this bill is passed," Senator Nye asserted, "this body will have reduced itself to the impotence of another Reichstag." "A leap toward dictatorship!" cried Senator Brooks, comparing Roosevelt's request for the bill to the enabling acts by which Hitler and Mussolini rose to power. "This bill is not only a war bill, it is a dictatorship bill!" declared Senator Capper. "Hitler himself had to go to the Reichstag to get his enabling act passed," Senator Wheeler repeated. "It is in its very essence, setting up Hitlerism, fascism and dictatorship in America."

The "fascist dictatorship" of Franklin Roosevelt continued to mail out these lying slanders in The Congressional Record, or as reprints, free of charge.

The lease-lend bill was in no sense a war bill. It gave the President no power to move troops or ships into the belligerent zones. Yet to enflame the American people against the bill, the obstructionists cried that it would precipitate America's entry into the war.

A necessary part of the distortion of the obstructionists was to deny that Nazi Germany in any way threatened America. "The notion that we are next on the list is not only false but a deliberate invention of the British propaganda department," said John T. Flynn, an America First official, on January 21. This line was widely followed in Congress. "The Hitler domination is bound to fall to pieces of its own weight," asseverated Sen. Bennett Clark. Senator Brooks condemned the administration for "preaching fear." "It is said that the Germans will establish a world of barter. Why cannot we barter as well as the Germans?" asked Senator Taft smugly.

"We have much more to fear from the war-makers from within than from our enemies from without," Fish declared, in opening the lease-lend debate in the House on February 3. "It is a pipe dream to talk about Hitler and Mussolini projecting an expedition against the United States," said Representative Robsion. "No nation on earth has threatened to violate our safety." "Harry Bridges and his kind who honeycomb the entire American defense program should cause America more worry than the fifth columnists in South America," Representative Jonkman said.

For the demagogues who could assert that anyone who spoke of the Hitler threat was "craven and cowardly," while they were the true American patriots because they "knew that no one would dare to touch their beloved country," it was no trouble to embrace the sympathy for Britain in the American people—in order to smother it. "I yield to no man in my sympathy for the gallant British people but . . ." each obstructionist would begin. "Knowing as I do that my ancestors came from Britain three hundred years ago, nevertheless . . ." they cried. "Proud as I am of the English blood that courses through my veins, still I say . . ." was echoed again and again. They went on to smear and denounce Britain. They fought for the second time the wars of Somaliland, Nyassaland and Bechuanaland. They openly scorned Britain. "It is a dastardly thing to say that Britain is fighting our war," cried Dewey

Short. There was a demand, which was led by Senator Lundeen and Representative Maas, that in payment for our supplies Britain give to America every possession she held in this hemisphere and in the Northern Pacific, with the possible exception of Canada.

After three days of violent debate, marked by the moderation and wisdom of only a few Republicans, the lease-lend bill was passed and sent to the Senate. There a filibuster was started against the bill in the hope that feeling would mount against it. When feeling mounted instead against the obstructionists, the Senate cut off debate upon the motion and considered amendments to the bill. A group of Senators who got on the right side on the final vote supported every weakening amendment which would have made the bill unworkable. They included Senators Brewster, Lodge, McNary, Burton and, to a lesser extent, Senators Tydings, Byrd and Barbour. The most damaging of all amendments, introduced by Senator Byrd, was passed, greatly restricting the President's action.

"The chances of our defeating the bill grow brighter every day," Nye said at the beginning of the Senate debate. What if the bill had been defeated by the obstructionists? The Axis would have won its greatest victory. The morale of the British and Chinese peoples, then at its lowest ebb, would have been shattered. The tyrannical hold of National Socialism over all Europe would have been secured. America would have been left alone, the last democracy in the world to face the attack of an almost irresistible force.

The Lease-Lend Appropriations

The lease-lend bill was fought in Congress on the issue of giving more power to the President. When the bill was passed, and the course of American foreign policy was set, it might have been expected that most of the opponents of the lease-lend bill would for the sake of national unity sustain the position that their country had taken. Even Ham Fish did this. Yet in the House of Representatives a small band of obstructionists remained, delaying, slandering their government, playing the Nazi game.

It was altogether ridiculous to charge that the first lease-lend-appropriation bill involved a delegation of power to the President. The bill, which was introduced in March, 1941, merely executed the lease-lend policy of sending supplies to Britain and China. Yet once again the old and lying issue of dictatorship was dragged out.

With a pseudo-pride of false martyrdom the obstructionists announced that dictatorship had already come and would probably liquidate them for their gallant, foolhardy opposition. They pretended to see themselves almost as the underground forces of democracy within Germany or Italy, risking death for their people.

"The President is now a dictator," Representative Rich told the Congress. "He has you fellows by the neck and you must come out and talk turkey and vote like he wants you to or else he will purge you. You are in a pretty bad fix."

"I know full well the sacrifice that I shall make," replied Representative Jones of Ohio in a heartrending speech. "I would rather be tortured, be shot down on this spot, than do anything to harm the United States of America."

"You can take me out against a brick wall," Rich added, "and I will say I will die for the red, white and blue before I permit a dictator in this country."

Representative Lambertson urged his fellow martyrs to take heart. "The minority has abdicated in Germany, Italy and Russia, but that is no reason why we should surrender," he cried. "We have a sworn duty to protect America first!" With a climax of irresponsibility he added, "If there were no other reason to whack this bill, it ought to be worth while to whack it just to show that we can."

As usual the obstructionists utterly distorted the meaning of the bill. To Smith of Ohio it was a bill "for dictatorship, war and national bankruptcy." To Miss Sumner it was "sinister . . . another artfully cut piece in a carefully planned pattern." "Must we sacrifice our liberty?" Hoffman asked, urging that the President "get no money until we get coöperation" in breaking the labor unions. Dies also took this line. Representative Lambertson announced that Roosevelt was "joyful almost to tears that he is going to be a great war President." He added that "it was planned from the beginning not to have a declaration of war." "The only chance of this war's ending soon," Lambertson said, "is that Germany wins."

Some Representatives like Taber of New York supported the bill because "the die is cast." Others, more cautious, washed their hands of it and declared that the responsibility was Roosevelt's alone. These included Representatives Wigglesworth and Ham Fish.

In October, the second lease-lend appropriation was presented to Congress. It called for six billion dollars, principally for food for Britain and for planes to bomb Germany and guard Africa, in the direct interest of our own safety. Yet once again the obstructionists delayed and distorted the bill. Two weeks before Pearl Harbor they denied that there was any peril. "I am not worried about Hitler coming over here," said Representative Engel. "The interest load in America is more dangerous to our liberties than all the guns of the Nazis," Representative Burdick said. "I fear the communists in America more than I fear Hitler," Rich asserted. "No nation has threatened the peace or security of our country," added Representative Dondero. "The greatest danger facing the United States is not attack by the Axis powers but the trend of socialism in high places within the administration."

There were the same attacks upon Britain. "Britain never fights except to save her own skin," said Representative Robsion. "I charge that the British are guilty of colossal, deceitful misrepresentation of their dilemma," shouted Representative Jones of Ohio. Representative O'Connor accused the administration of "adoration for His Majesty's Government."

There were also the attacks upon the Soviet government, then fighting for its life. "You cannot tell much about this Joe Stalin," said O'Connor. "Remember, all human monsters are yellow." Ham Fish called lease-lend aid to Russia "a fraud and a contemptible sham." Representative Knutson, in a speech echoed by many others, suggested that "Hitler and Stalin fight it out until they destroy each other." "It is not too late to withdraw a foolish commitment," Knutson added.

And, of course, there were the charges of dictatorship. "A measure to give the Chief Executive added dictatorial power!" Hoffman shouted. "Roosevelt and his henchmen have shown an insatiable appetite for power," Miss Sumner said. "It is too much to believe that they will relinquish without a desperate struggle the absolutism which we put into their hands."

The "dictatorship" continued to mail out these wild and slanderous assertions free of charge.

The Property-Requisition Bill

Throughout 1941 armaments production in America was slow in increasing. There was a widespread evasion of priorities by manufacturers. Profiteering dealers refused to sell vital equipment to the government. Unscrupulous firms hoarded vast quantities of war materials, and, in the absence of price-fixing powers, speculation and black markets developed even in the commodities on which ceilings had been placed. Arms production lagged as industry after industry insisted upon producing for commercial orders.

On July 21 the property-requisition bill was sent to the Senate. The bill had not been drawn by the President's advisers, but by Undersecretary of War Patterson and John Lord O'Brian, Republican general counsel of the OPM.

"There have been instances," O'Brian wrote the Senate, "where contractors working on defense orders have made every feasible effort to secure second-hand machine tools from dealers but have failed to secure them because the sellers were unwilling to part with them on any reasonable terms. Our machine-tool section has tried in vain to have some larger machine tools transferred from regular commercial use to defense use. . . . Requisitioning authority would enable us to put these big tools to work on the defense program."

Bernard Baruch recommended sweeping commandeering powers as the result of his First World War experience. But in the Military Affairs Committees of the House and the Senate the property-requisition bill was rendered almost useless by emasculation of its powers. The bill which was reported required a finding that the need for requisitioning was imminent, that all other means of obtaining the property had been exhausted, that plants could not be seized, that no other source of supply existed. No bill was ever more ringed with restrictions.

Yet again the obstructionist minority in Congress raised the same old cry of "dictatorship" in order to obstruct the defense program. The fact that the powers conferred by the bill were to be administered not by the President but by Undersecretary Patterson was entirely overlooked. "It smacks of Herr Hitler," was the charge of Dewey Short of Missouri. "It places a stranglehold upon industry and labor. I am against giving the President this additional authority!" "It is sheer National Socialism, sheer unadulterated National Socialism!" Fish cried. "It is the surrender of Congress," shouted Everett M. Dirksen of Illinois. "The lash of a dictator," thundered Charles H. Elston of Massachusetts, who asserted that Roosevelt would use the power to seize "the last vestige of personal property owned by every citizen in the United States."

To Clare E. Hoffman of Michigan the bill represented "the greedy grasping for absolute power of an ambitious dictator." "He intends to stifle all opposition," Hoffman added of Roosevelt, "by shackling the public press. Like all greedy, ruthless dictators he wants to make his will supreme, absolute over everyone. . . . It may be that he is humiliated because Bloody Joe, his comrade, has more power than he. Perhaps he wants to show Comrade Joe, who has caused the death of thousands of his people, that he, Roosevelt, has a like power over us here in America."

This is what the President had to endure. One hundred and thirty-six Representatives, almost every Republican in the House, supported Hoffman's stand. Yet the majority of these men, and the Democrats who voted with them, had declared a few months earlier that they could not vote for the draft because it proposed to conscript men without conscripting property.

Here was a straight vote—to aid the defense program, to place property under the same discipline as American youth, and 136 representatives opposed it, 136 who hated Roosevelt more than they hated Hitler.

Neutrality

IN OCTOBER, 1941, the Axis was preparing to attack America. In Indo-China, Japan was completing the air bases from which she was to bomb Malaya and Burma; she was completing also the final arrangements for the good-will mission of Saburu Kurusu to Washington to arrange peace terms with the United States. In Russia the German army was crashing through the Soviet defenses, pressing upon Moscow, overwhelming the Ukraine and already storming the Crimea, the last stepping-stone to the Middle East and a probable Hitler victory.

In the seas off Newfoundland and Brazil, American ships were being attacked. In October eight American ships were sunk. Four of them were flying the American flag; only one of them was armed; not one was in a belligerent zone. The destroyers protecting them were also attacked—the Kearny, the Greer, the Reuben James, each with its heavy loss of life.

There can be no doubt but that, in October, 1941, the President was still hoping that he might keep America out of war. The amendment of the Neutrality Act was not a measure to take America into the fight but to ensure the continuance of the policy of aiding the Allies and building our own strength, to which the government and the country were committed.

In October, 1941, the Neutrality Act was crippling our defense and aid program.

Under the restrictions of Section 2 of the act, American ships carrying non-governmental cargoes were forbidden to enter belligerent zones. Because Britain could not feed her people, let alone arm them, on her own diminishing merchant marine, sixty-two American ships were transferred to Panamanian registry. But Panama had no seamen to man these ships and the 9,000 foreign seamen in America provided a poor and unreliable reserve. The entry of Russia into the war greatly increased the shipping shortage. Russia had almost no merchant marine, yet if Section 2 had remained in force it would have been necessary for the President, at some time, to have declared Murmansk and Archangel to be belligerent zones and so to have blockaded an ally through a law passed for our defense. At the same time stocks of chrome were accumulating in Turkey and copper and manganese were being held in the Near East because American ships could not fetch them, badly as we needed them. "We are threatened in our whole defense program," an OPM official said, "if we fail to preserve the freedom of the seas, which means the freedom to import our defense materials."

Yet our ships could not sail. Because of Section 2 of the Neutrality Act, 7,000 of our force of 74,000 trained seamen lost their jobs and left the sea to search for work elsewhere. Our merchant marine was less than one-sixth of the force which, according to the Shipping Board, was the minimum required for our safety. The Maritime Commission was unable to train new seamen because there were no ships on which they were allowed to sail. "Let us turn American ships over to British crews," said Representative Jennings of Ohio, "and let British sailors carry the gifts of the American people into British ports." But Britain was already short of seamen: 41,000 had been killed or drowned.

Section 6 of the Neutrality Act prohibited the arming of merchant vessels. Yet unarmed they were helpless. "One of our greatest difficulties today," Admiral Land testified, "is to obtain proper crews for unarmed vessels." Panamanian ships could be armed. But President Arosemena of Panama was friendly to Adolf Hitler and thought that they looked nicer unarmed. There was nothing that we could do, short of reasserting our rights.

What would Congress do? "The opposition, and particularly the Republican opposition," wrote Walter Lippmann on October 7, "have gone as far as they can afford to go in obstructing American foreign policy. . . . The opposition may soon find itself in the position where, by being irreconcilably opposed to the national policy, the future of the party would become identified with the defeat of the nation. The Republicans would be making a record on which they could reap a political profit only if America were defeated and humiliated."

Yet this was precisely what the obstructionists in Congress did. Their obstruction was expressed first in attacks upon Britain and Russia, coupled with pleas for Hitler's new ally, Finland. "England has sought to carry on a successful war without doing very much fighting," Senator Clark of Missouri cried. Britain might well negotiate a separate peace with Hitler, Clark added, as soon as America entered the war. Representative Sweeney of Ohio repeated this canard, and went on to add: "This war is directed by anti-Christian bankers." Another Nazi rumor, about the misuse by Britain of lease-lend funds, was spread in the debate by Senator Nye and a number of Representatives. Senator Wheeler asserted, in speaking of Britain's resistance, that "The hotheads took Britain into the war when she was unprepared and nearly ruined England by doing so." Rep. Dewey Short, who is always good for a cheap laugh, said, "Let us save America and let God save the King." At the same time Wheeler praised the fight of "Christian, democratic Finland."

The bill to amend the Neutrality Act could not be called a war measure. "It is said that the opposition in Congress intend to treat the modification of the Neutrality Act as the equivalent of a declaration of war," Walter Lippmann wrote. "They will do a great disservice to the nation . . . for they will be forcing the country to choose between the paralysis and collapse of its foreign policy . . . and tremendous new entanglements in a vastly expanded war."

Yet again, this was precisely what the obstructionists in Congress did. "It is an authorization of war, declared or undeclared," cried Senator Clark of Missouri. "I will not vote for a declaration of war in disguise!" asserted Representative Guyer. "A declaration for a presidential war," repeated Ham Fish. The purpose of the bill, Fish added, was "simply and solely to cause the loss of American ships and men in sufficient numbers to inflame the passions and arouse the spirit of vengeance in the American people who are overwhelmingly opposed to our entrance into the war."

Only a hypocritical mind could assert that the President was seeking increased powers when he asked the Congress to amend the Neutrality Act. At the time the bill was written, the President had full power to arm American merchant ships and to send them into belligerent zones, since their government-owned lease-lend cargoes were not subject to the Neutrality Act. The President was also free to use naval vessels in any manner necessary to serve American defense. He could have nullified the entire Neutrality Act on the reasonable grounds that it could no longer "promote the security or preserve the peace of the United States." Certainly if he had been a dictator he would not have hesitated to do any of these things. But the President requested Congress to amend the act because, as a great democrat, he always stressed the democratic process.

Yet once more the obstructionists dragged in the charge that the President sought dictator powers, and asserted that it was the sacred duty of Congress to deny the President these powers. "If this be treason," cried many of them, always with an appropriate melodramatic flourish, "then make the most of it!" "A reckless usurpation of power leading to totalitarian government," Senator Clark of Missouri called the bill. "A long stride toward dictatorship, totalitarian government and revolution," said Representative Tinkham. "A complete surrender of the legislative branch of the government to the executive branch," cried Senator Nye. An act delegating "all power to one man, as the Germans and Italians did," said Representative Mundt. "The issue is, shall we preserve democracy or go totalitarian," argued Representative Thill. "The wrecking of our liberty, the setting up of a dictator," warned Representative Rich. "We will wake up under a dictatorship," said Representative Coffee of Nebraska. Senator Wheeler was not sure but he thought the dictatorship had already come. "Is totalitarianism the new world order?" Wheeler asked. "Has the American Congress followed in the path of the German Reichstag? If we are at war, have we followed the Hitleresque pattern? If we are not at war, has not constitutional government ended?" Wheeler's answer was "Yes."

Into the debate were brought the same contradictions as on earlier occasions. First the argument that America was so ill prepared that she could not fight a war. Then the decrying of any danger whatever to America from the Axis forces and the assertion that anyone who for so much as a moment entertained such a shocking idea was a defeatist. But there also came into this debate a new note, one heard in the French Chamber of Deputies in the months before the French collapse.

"I have reached a parting of the ways," said Rep. Howard Smith of Virginia. The American government, he added, was controlled, not by the Constitution but "by a few willful, power-drunken labor leaders"; it was a "labor government." "We must learn," Smith said, "to govern the unruly elements within our midst before we undertake to settle the affairs of a troubled world." He refused to support the foreign policy of the government until it "quelled the labor insurrection with its violence and bloodshed." This attack, initiated by Smith's political master, Senator Byrd, and followed up in the Senate by O'Daniel, was far more threatening to the government's foreign policy than the rantings of Ham Fish. It found support in the House among men such as Representative Boren of Oklahoma, who asserted that Congress must "free American labor from Hitlers here before setting out to destroy Europe's Hitlers." The bill was saved only by a message from the President to the Congress promising a stronger labor policy.

Of course the great body of Congress did not seek to distort the issue as did these few men. The debate in the House was perhaps the fairest and least vindictive of all debates on foreign policy. It was constantly raised in tone by Luther Johnson of Texas, by Representative Wadsworth and by the majority leader, John W. McCormack of Massachusetts. It was closed on an extremely high level by Representative Whittington of Mississippi, who said: "If liberty is lost by conquest it may be regained. If liberty is abandoned by indifference it can never be regained."

Yet our liberty and the liberty of our allies were almost lost by indifference. In the final moments of the debate a letter from the President was read to the House. "In the British Empire, in China, and in Russia, all of whom are fighting a defensive war," the President wrote, "the effect of the failure of the Congress to repeal Sections 2 and 3 of the Neutrality Act would be definitely discouraging. . . . It would weaken their positions from the point of view of food and munitions. It would cause rejoicing in the Axis nations. It would bolster aggressive steps and intentions in Germany and in the other aggressive nations. . . . It would weaken our great effort to produce all we can, as rapidly as we can."

Twenty-two Republicans broke with the leadership of Joseph Martin to support their government. Fifty-seven Democrats broke with the President. By a majority of less than ten votes, on that day, Congress chose liberty.

The Closing Round

DECEMBER 5, 1941. The infamous plans of the Axis to attack America are completed. In Washington the treacherous Kurusu delivers to Hull a plan for a compromise in Indo-China, in order to deceive the American government as to his nation's real intentions. In the Pacific, a Japanese fleet of aircraft-carriers and warships sails for Hawaii, where more than two thousand Americans are unsuspectingly living in peace, not dreaming that they have but one more day to live.

In America, The Chicago Tribune and The Washington Times-Herald, in a last desperate attempt to mislead the American people, violate the espionage laws and publish the most secret strategic plans of our army and navy slipped to them by a traitor in the Navy Department. The document which they publish exposes to Japan our plans in the event of a Pacific war and tells Hitler what bases and weapons we have for an offensive against Germany. Both Hitler and Tojo, in declaring war upon the United States, are to cite this plan as a justification of their actions.

And in Congress? An $8,000,000,000 military-appropriations bill is being discussed. It is being denounced because it is unnecessary, because there is no danger, because war is a terrible thing, because it gives too much power to Franklin Roosevelt. Eagerly the few obstructionists, in their speeches, seize upon The Chicago Tribune's treachery as a new source to delay the military appropriations. The Times-Herald cries exultantly, "War Plan Exposé Rocks Capital. Perils Appropriation Bill. Congress in an Uproar. Tinkham Declares Republic Betrayed."

"The secret is out," cries Robsion of Kentucky. "I shall vote to recommit this bill! It means bankruptcy and the loss of our liberties and freedom."

Where have we heard that before? These few Representatives do not remember. "I repeat," Fish cries, "if we finally destroy the German army we can only do one thing, and that is to revive communism. If we crush Germany, Germany will go communistic. Europe will be communistic. We will have revolution, chaos, destruction of our liberties, we may even lose our form of government and have a dictator." Dirksen insists upon striking from this huge appropriation the salary of David Lasser, an unimportant government employee, on the utterly fallacious ground that he is a Communist. The House vote is taken, and on the evening of December 5, fifty-six Representatives vote to recommit in order to strike from the bill $500,000,000 in lease-lend aid for China, Britain and Russia. Anderson, Andresen, Coffee of Nebraska, Crawford, Day, Dewey, Dworshak, Johns, Jones, Jonkman, Knutson, Lambertson, O'Connor, Reed, Shanley, Smith, Winter, Wolcott, Woodruff, Youngdahl; the roll call betrays the same obstructionist group. When the motion is defeated, and the vote upon the bill is taken, Crawford, Lambertson, Rich, Shanley and Miss Sumner vote against the final military-appropriations bill.

Thirty-six hours later, the Japanese dive bombers are to hurtle down on Hawaii, killing, firing, destroying.

The Battle on the Home Front

FOR THE TWO AND A HALF YEARS of America's awakening the small group of obstructionists fought against every step to place America's resources against fascism, behind the embattled democracies. But our foreign policy was only one phase of our total mobilization. Here, on the home front, an equally vital phase was the mobilization of manpower, of resources, of morale, behind a united war effort. Here, too, the same group, driven by the same blind hatreds of prejudice, using the same deception and distortion, fought every move to make the home front strong.

If America were prepared to make a supreme effort in 1941, then that preparedness derived from the eight-year program of the President to abolish unemployment, waste, unbalance, poor housing, low standards and lack of democracy in America. Throughout these years a minority in Congress, thwarted each time when they took their case to the people, delayed and sabotaged the President's program from within. In 1941, having opposed the government's foreign policy with all their strength, they turned and demanded in the name of the defense effort that the peacetime programs of the government be destroyed.

Nothing was more important in America than morale. Hitler could have asked for no greater service in America than that a minority would sow dissension among Americans and demoralize our labor force by making the war a time of destruction of all of labor's rights.

On December 1, 1941, the obstructionists fought to a climax their offensive against American labor led by a small group of Southern conservatives who hated labor more than they loved the liberty which demanded unity. They forced the issue as the amendment of the Vinson labor-mediation bill, introduced by Representative Howard Smith of Virginia.

Once again the obstructionists played upon precisely the same fear of dictatorship which had been exploited in the foreign-policy debates. "The issue is," Representative Eugene Cox told the House, "whether or not a few greedy, brutal, power-lustful racketeers shall defy the government of the United States and imperil the safety of the nation. I say to you that if there is any group in the United States . . . that can intimidate the Chief Executive or this Congress, then, by the living God, free America is gone, the Constitution, the Bill of Rights is a mockery, and we have left only the carcass of that great dream of the signers of the Declaration of Independence and the framers of the Constitution—free government. There is nothing to fight Hitler for, because then freedom is gone."

Martin Dies reasserted these thoughts. He damned the CIO as "a coalition of communism and criminality," and added: "You may call it Hitlerism, Stalinism, totalitarianism or what have you; it is un-American to force workingmen into the shackles of labor bosses." Representative Smith in turn declared that freedom would die if America did not at once guarantee "the inalienable right" of the open shop.

Three strikes were in progress, involving 1,700 men. A representative of the OPM announced that this was "a new low in strikes of defense significance." Yet, in a typical speech, Representative Crawford declared, "I want something with teeth in it. . . . As I read the Smith bill it has teeth in it. I think it has alligator teeth in it. I think it has teeth as long as the man-eating claws that you get out at the Pacific, and those are about the most terrible teeth I have ever seen." In this spirit of sinking teeth deep into the labor movement and thus risking a severe decline in productivity, the House passed the Smith bill.

Just as in France the Chamber of Deputies used the invasion of Poland to declare war, not on Germany but on the French people, so in America the war situation was seized upon as an excuse for destroying the social program of the government.

The first of the government programs to be destroyed by Congress was that for rural electrification. Probably no government plan had yielded as high direct returns on expenditures as the REA. At a time when farmers were being called upon to produce record crops, while manpower on the farms, the alternative to electrical energy, was being drafted for factory work and military training, its services provided an important part of the war effort.

Yet when the power lobby moved into Washington to destroy the public-power movement in the name of the war, a majority of the Congress knuckled under. Representative Winter, friendly to the Kansas Power and Light Company, led the battle against the REA with the same old weapons. He accused it of operating "exactly in the manner of Adolf Hitler and of Joseph Stalin. . . . The star-chamber method of dictatorship. . . . Dictatorial decree. . . . The sort of thing that stiffens the backs of those who oppose the war on the grounds that there is no sense in fighting Hitlerism abroad only to obtain Hitlerism at home."

"I am frank to admit," Winter went on, "that those of us who are classified as anti-New Dealers have no right to demand that the President surrender to our desires before we agree to follow his leadership in purely national-defense matters." In return for its vote to defend America against actual Japanese attack, however, Congress did force the government to deny any copper whatever to the REA, irrespective of the nature of its power projects, and at a time when power utilities were getting substantial priorities. So the REA was murdered.

A similar job was done by Congress upon the Farm Security Administration. The success of the food-for-victory program demanded greatly increased farm production, mainly from our small farmers. Five hundred thousand of these were dependent upon the FSA for credit, for materials, for vital personal services such as medical care. Yet Congress in March, 1942, cut the FSA to pieces in the name of the war effort. "In the name of our liberty and independence, our freedom, also of our boys in the trenches now at war," cried Representative Rich, one of the most violent obstructionists in the fight against the selective-service army and the war for liberty, "vote some economy, or you will lose the war." Led by Representative Dirksen, Crawford and Slater, and speaking in accordance with signals made by Ed O'Neal of the Farm Bureau Federation from the gallery of the House, Congress wrecked a large part of the FSA program.

In the name of the war, too, free lunches for children were stricken from the NYA grants and nearly 800,000 young boys and girls were sent home from schools and colleges for want of a few dollars. The Wages-and-Hours Administration was undermined by the dismissal of one-half of its inspector force, the CCC and the public-works program were demolished. Most of this dirty work was done, not in the open, on the floor of the House and Senate, but behind the walls of Senate and House committees. In particular Senator Byrd, as chairman of the Joint Committee on Non-Essential Expenditures, fed out misleading information to discredit many government agencies before they appeared before the House Appropriations Committee. This fight offered to the Southern conservatives, many of whom were compelled only by local sentiment to support the government's foreign policy, a chance to break with the administration and weaken it.

Representative Cox, who cried in anger that "reform clings like a leech," and Representative Faddis, who referred to the social program as "champagne and caviar" and some members of the government as "starry-eyed, irresponsible, crusading Quislings," were typical of this group. Today they are still at their pursuits: dividing America when we need to be united; smearing the government when we need confidence in our leadership; seizing upon every small irritant as a means of demoralizing a people when we need to keep one great issue, of victory over fascism, clearly before us. This deliberate weakening attack upon the home front is just as helpful to Hitler, just as dangerous to the United Nations, as is sabotage of our war on fronts abroad. The men who wage this fight, to whom the war against progress is the only real war of our time, are as threatening to our democracy as are the Hamilton Fishes.

Is It a Party Issue?

President Roosevelt has announced that he will not repeat the action of our last wartime President, Woodrow Wilson, in calling for the election to Congress of representatives of his own party. The President's attitude toward candidates for election will be determined by the record alone.

But the record shows that the Republican Party has for the last three years made the issue of foreign policy a partisan issue, in which it fought the President on party lines.

In our chart of the record of Congress on crucial debates, the Democrats show an extremely high average. On foreign policy, only the Michigan and Iowa delegations show serious signs of disaffection. On the home front, while the Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, North Carolina, Missouri, Mississippi, South Carolina, Oklahoma, Tennessee and Texas delegations are divided, the underlying trend is progressive.

In contrast, the Republican record is negative and bleak. Of the ten crucial foreign issues which we have chosen in the chart, the Republican votes for and against were 15 to 135 on the Guam appropriation; 8 to 150 on the revision of the arms embargo; 20 to 140 on the first revision of the Neutrality Act; 5 to 122 on the military-appropriations vote of 1939; 52 to 112 on the selective-service bill; 24 to 135 on the lease-lend bill; 21 to 133 on the extension of the draft; 39 to 133 on the repeal of Section 6 of the Neutrality Act prohibiting the arming of ships; and 22 to 137 on the revision of Section 2 of the act prohibiting the travel of American ships in belligerent zones. Four-fifths of the opposition to the first and second lease-lend appropriations came from Republicans. Only individual Republicans of the delegations of California, New Jersey, New York and the New England states saved the Republican record from being one of complete obstruction.

In a recent conference, Wendell L. Willkie succeeded in persuading the Republican Party to adopt a resolution supporting the active participation of America in world reconstruction when the war is won. Yet even at this conference Senator Taft boasted that he had "pulled the teeth" from the resolution. Today despite his great popularity with the rank and file, it is probable that Willkie controls only a handful of Republicans in the House of Representatives. The Republicans as a whole have shown no signs of repudiating the leadership which directed their fight against the government's foreign policy. For this reason we must examine not only the record of the past, but the outcome in the future, if, as it hopes to do, the Republican Party captures a majority of the House next November.

In 1918, only a few weeks after his life's philosophy, and the sacrifices which he had called upon America to make, had culminated in the announcement of the Fourteen Points, President Wilson lost his Democratic majority in the House of Representatives. Historians now see in that event the turning point in Wilson's career, and in the unsuccessful attempt to bring out of the sufferings of World War I a permanent international structure for the maintenance of peace. Using its powers of appropriation and investigation, a hostile House fought a constant action against Wilson, sniping from behind. The leaders of the House and of the Senate under Senator Lodge strongly endorsed the League of Nations principle. Yet they refused to accept the League when the test came, and although Harding campaigned on an issue of supporting the League, as President he restored the isolationist tradition of America. That fact, fifteen years later, was instrumental in the collapse of the peace—which Wilson had won.

What would happen in 1942 if by a turnover of fifty seats the Republican Party won a majority in the House of Representatives?

The Speaker of the House, incomparably the most important member, would be Representative Joseph Martin, the present minority leader. As chairman of the Republican National Committee, Martin picked Clarence Budington Kelland, a Roosevelt-hater and labor-baiter, as his party's publicity chief. Representative Martin's record is worse than that of Ham Fish. He voted *wrong* on the Guam naval base, *wrong* on the repeal of the arms embargo, *wrong* on the revision of the Neutrality Act, *wrong* on the airplane-appropriation bill, *wrong* on the lease-lend bill, *wrong* on the second revision of the Neutrality Act. He voted *wrong* on every crucial issue of domestic mobilization, as we show in our chart. Martin is isolationist and reactionary to the core.

A Republican majority in November would mean, also, a change in the chairmanship of the House Committees. John Taber, an outright reactionary, would take over the Appropriations Committee and use it to further the drive against all leading liberals in the government. The chairman of the Banking and Currency Committee would be Jesse Wolcott, the leader of the fight to emasculate the price bill. Allen Treadway would run the Ways and Means Committee, working to tax the poor and ease the burden of the rich. The Foreign Affairs Committee, with control over lease-lend aid and reconstruction, would fall into the outstretched arms of Ham Fish. To Fish would go also the Rules Committee, to become the burial ground of all liberal measures.

Quite clearly, if one branch of the government were to fall into the hands of these men while the other remained in the hands of the present administration, the result would be chaotic. The prosecution of the war effort, and consequently the safety of every one of us, would suffer.

But not only would the war be endangered. It may well be that the war will be over before 1944. In that event President Roosevelt will be faced with the equally hard task of making the peace. Once again, we must remember that as peacemaker Wilson was shamefully discredited by the 1918 elections only five weeks before he sailed for Versailles. He left with the harsh but true words of Theodore Roosevelt preceding him to Europe. "Our allies, our enemies and Mr. Wilson himself must know that Mr. Wilson has no authority whatever to speak for the American people at this time. His leadership has just been emphatically repudiated by them."

Unless the Republican leadership is decisively changed between now and November 5, we must remember that a Republican House would take from the President his freedom as an executive and make of him something like a constitutional monarch, with few real powers. Even the best Republican candidates will carry this stigma upon them. For whatever personal commitments they are willing to undertake, their victories would make it easier for a party which has not accepted those commitments to gain power.

The Verdict

In these pages we have presented the story of America's awakening. We have shown, by the record, how this awakening was achieved despite the attempt of a minority in Congress to hold back, to blind our people.

Two main forces constituted this minority which has sought to keep from our people understanding of the one great task we face—victory over the fascist dictatorship which has challenged us. The first of these forces, based upon the Republicans of the North and Middle West, believed that the one great war of our time was the war upon progress and so resisted any reply to the Nazi challenge because our resistance was led by a great force for progress in the White House. A second group of a few Southern reactionaries believed also in the war against progress and while they supported the government on grounds of party sought to undermine the will to achieve unity on the home front which was also a vital part of our total war effort.

In the first of these groups a distinction must be made between the ringleaders of the group and those who for reasons of party or local sentiment acquiesced. The latter—there are perhaps one hundred and twenty of them—represent in the main the group of small-town lawyers, doctors, editors and merchants who have grown up within a climate of opinion best reflected in the archaic columns of Westbrook Pegler, in which the heroes and creators of social achievement are uniformly the big-business men; in which the underlying groups ought to express gratitude for the crumbs which are handed down to them as the lower in the banquet of life; in which that government which governs least continues to govern best; in which America can best serve its interests by seceding from the rest of the world. The image of himself which each of these men carries is an image identified with the heads of big corporations, which, we now know, have sought to fashion world economic policy through their cartel agreements with the Nazi industrialists. These men are the tools for schemers, and Martin is their perfect focus point.

Joined to this group was the small band of Northwestern progressives who represented districts in which an isolationist vote expressed the majority will. These men's recent records show a change of heart. Their consistent support of the government since Pearl Harbor indicates that the deep sources of their votes are in the long run sound and healthy.

The second leading group in the obstructionist minority consists of a few Southern reactionaries who answer to only a small part of their constituents. They come from states with a system of one-party domination in which the alternatives of available opposition are so severely limited that the most bitter reactionaries are fairly certain of their seats term after term. By reason of the principle of seniority they have managed to place themselves in the highly strategic position of committee leadership from which they hinder the administration in ways which the public never fully understands. In the absence of a Republican opposition this group would be strictly limited in its activities of obstruction. With the Republicans, it is able to provide a working majority against the administration on any social issue. Votes upon power and labor measures are instances of this tactic, and the Dies Committee vote, in which 133 out of 185 Republicans supported an outstanding enemy of the administration, is an example of the way the Republicans are able to use reactionary Democrats as a means of embarrassing and weakening the government.

Today, with the support of the Republicans, these Southern reactionaries are using their power in three main ways. First, they are using congressional power of investigation, particularly through the Dies Committee, to hound liberals in the administration and confuse the people on the question of exactly who it is that we are fighting. Second, they are using the halls of Congress as a sounding board for divisionist speeches. Third, they are using the congressional power over appropriations to maintain control over the administrative personnel. By attaching riders to appropriation bills denying funds to members of the government, they have misused their powers to dictate the policies of the executive. Thus they and the Republicans who support them have become a great bottleneck in American democracy. These Southern leaders cannot in most cases undergo the fiery trial of democratic judgment upon their deeds until democracy is introduced in their constituencies. Yet it is necessary at all times to understand their obstructionist power.

We would like at all times to be generous. We would begin by asserting, when we consider the guilt of men who resisted our foreign policy, that their resistance must be seen against the background of twenty years of opposition to war in America; years in which The New Republic formed a part of the opposition. We would readily add that many of the men who voted against each crucial step in our awakening now fully believe in the necessity of ruthless war upon the Axis until victory is achieved, and believe also that victory will be empty of meaning unless America accepts a continuing responsibility for the peace.

But to the minority of obstructionist leaders, America cannot be generous, for they were not generous with democracy or truth. In the two and a half years of debate which we have analyzed, these few men never allowed the real issue, the victory or surrender of democracy, to be placed before the American people. Instead they exploited petty hatreds that America could no longer afford to kindle. They deliberately deceived the American people about the intentions of their government, when unity demanded confidence in our leadership. They distorted the meaning of one historical necessity—the strengthening of the executive in wartime—into a charge of dictatorship when there was no danger of dictatorship whatsoever. When the American people saw that dictatorship did not result from the passage of the bills which Congress enacted, this minority deliberately spread the slanderous rumor that the administration was going to call off the 1942 elections.

This same minority harried and hindered our action long after the course of America's future had been decisively set. When they failed to create a cleavage between farm and city, capital and labor, the people and their government, this minority of obstructionists turned to the despicable Nazi trick of asserting that it was the Jews who were leading America into war.

These men committed many crimes against our allies, but their fundamental crime they committed against their own people. So deep was their hatred of Roosevelt and progress that they were blinded to the real danger which threatened America, and so allied themselves with it. Even today many of these men would like to see Hitler defeated but are determined that the conditions of Hitler's defeat shall be the defeat of Russia, of England, of Roosevelt or of the New Deal.

These men, even these, may claim that now they too have changed. But we are no longer deceived. On December 7 it is true that they were temporarily silenced. "My country right or wrong," The Chicago Tribune, their champion, said. "My country right or wrong," echoed the Bundist Deutsche Weckruf and Beobachter. The Eighty-sixth Street Theatre in New York ceased showing "Sieg im Westen" and announced "closed for repairs." The politics of the obstructionists were also "closed for repairs," but the repairs did not take long. Today the obstructionists are back at their old games, exploiting grievances, spreading rumors, sowing doubts, enlarging upon defeats, attempting to turn every military defeat into a political defeat. While the government locks up fascists outside of Congress, Representative Hoffman is free to announce that our Commander-in-Chief is fighting to become a world dictator, and Representative Shafer is free to state that the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor can only be compared in unexpectedness to the British attack upon Oran. Others, less honest, are working behind the scenes, waiting until the heavy losses, the many hardships which war must bring, will weaken the government.

We repeat, with these men we cannot afford to be generous. The past, the inscriptions upon the graves of the republics of Germany, France and Spain, tell us that generosity may be as dangerous as intolerance. The future demands of us that we be stern, for the stakes have never been so high as today.

On November 5 will come the trial which the obstructionists declared would never be held because we were afraid. It is not we who are afraid today. The case of the American people against the obstructionists who will be placed on trial in November we have briefly presented. What the defense of those men will be we cannot and do not care to imagine. On the basis of the record, the verdict of the people can only be: Guilty.

The Evidence

	FOREIGN										DOMESTIC									
	Guam Naval Base	Arms Embargo	Neutrality Revision	Military Airplane Appropriation	Conscription Act	Lend-Lease	First Lend-Lease Appropriation	Draft Extension	Repeal Ban on Arming Ships	Lift Belligerent Zones	WPA Bill *	Public Works Bill	NYA Bill	Food Stamp Bill	Drastic Labor Amendments	Property Seizure Bill	Smith Anti-Labor-Spy Bill	Wolcott Price Control Amendment	Dies Committee Extension	Power Bill
	2/23/39	11/2/39	11/3/39	6/22/39	9/7/40	2/6/41	3/19/41	8/12/41	10/17/41	11/13/41	1/13/39	8/1/39	3/28/40	5/9/40	6/7/40	8/5/41	12/3/41	1/26/42	3/11/42	3/27/42
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
Democrats																				
ALABAMA **																				
Boykin	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+
Grant	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	−		−	+	−	+
Hobbs	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−
Jarman	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+		+		+	−	+		+
Manasco								+	+	+						+	−	+	−	+
Patrick	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+		
Sparkman	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+
Starnes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	−	−		+	−		−	+	−	
Steagall	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	
ARIZONA																				
Murdock		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+		−	−	+
ARKANSAS																				
Cravens		+	+		+	+	+	−	+	+			+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+
Ellis	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+
Gathings	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+
Harris						+	+	+	+	+						+	−	+	−	+
Mills	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+
Norrell	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+
Terry	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+
CALIFORNIA																				
Buck	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	−	+		+	−			+
Costello	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+				−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+
Elliott	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
Ford, T. F.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Izac	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+
Kramer	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+		−	+	−			
Lea	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+
Sheppard	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		−	+	−	+	−	+	−	−
Tolan	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+		+		
Voorhis	−	−	+		+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
COLORADO																				
Lewis	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+		+	−	
CONNECTICUT																				
Downs						+	+	−	+	+						+	+	+	+	−
Fitzgerald						+	+	+	+	+						+	+	+	+	+
Kopplemann						+	+	+	+	+						+	+	+	+	+
Maciora						+	+	−	+	+							+	+	+	−
Shanley	+	−	−		−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
DELAWARE																				
Traynor						+	+	+	+	+						+	+	−	−	+
FLORIDA																				
Cannon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+		
Green	+	+	+		+	+		+	+	+		+	+		+	+	−	−	−	+
Hendricks	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+		+	+	−	−	−	+
Peterson	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+
Sikes						+	+	+	+	+						+	−	−	−	−
GEORGIA																				
Brown	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+
Camp		+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+	−	+	−	+		−
Cox	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−		−	+	−	−	−	+
Gibson						+	+	+		+						+	−	+	−	−
Pace	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+
Peterson	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−		+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	
Ramspeck	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+	−	+
Tarver	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+		+	−	+	−	+
Vinson	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	
Whelchel	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+			−	+	−	+	−	+
IDAHO																				
White	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+		+	+	+			−		+
ILLINOIS																				
Arnold	−	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	−		−
Barnes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−
Beam		+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+		+	+		+	+	−	
Kelly	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	
Kocialkowski	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	
Maciejewski	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−		+	+	+	
McKeough		+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
Mitchell		+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+				−	+		−
Sabath		+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	
Schaefer	+	+	+	+		+		+			+		+	+		+				
Schuetz	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−
INDIANA																				
Boehne	+	+	+		−	+	+	−	+	+		−	−		−	+			−	
Larrabee	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			+
Ludlow	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	+	−	+	+	+	−		
Schulte	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	
IOWA																				
Harrington	−	−	−	+	+	−	−		−	−	+		+	+	−		−	−	−	+
Jacobsen	+	−	−	+	−	−		−			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
KANSAS																				
Houston		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		−	+	+	+		+	+	−	
KENTUCKY																				
Bates	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+		+	+	+	+		+	+	−	+
Chapman	+	−	−	+		+	+	+	+	+		−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−
Creal		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	+
Gregory	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+
May	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		−	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	−
O'Neal	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−		−	+	−	−
Spence	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−
Vincent	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+
LOUISIANA																				
Allen	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+
Boggs						+	+	+	+	+						+	−		−	+
Brooks	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+
Domengeaux						+		+	+	+						+	−	+	−	
Hébert						+	+	+	+	+						+	−		−	+
Mills	−	−	+	+	+	+		+		+		+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+
Plauché						+		+	+	+						+	−	+	−	+
Sanders						+	+	+	+	+						+	−	+	−	+
MARYLAND																				
Byron, Mrs.								+		+						+	+	+		
Cole	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+		+	+	+	−	+	−	+		
D'Alesandro	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−
Meyer						+	+	−	+	+						+	+	+	−	−
Sasscer	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	−		+	+	+	−	+		+		−
Ward		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+		+	−	+	−	+	−	−
MASSACHUSETTS																				
Casey		+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+
Eliot						+	+	−	+	+						+	+	+	+	
Flaherty	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+		+	+	+	+	+		+	+	−	+
Healey	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	
McCormack	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
MICHIGAN																				
Dingell		+	+		−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Hook	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	
Lesinski	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
O'Brien						−	+	−	−	−						−	+	+	+	+
Rabaut		−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+
Tenerowicz	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+		+	−	+	+	−	+

* WPA vote reconstructed by Labor's Non-Partisan League.

** The symbols + and − indicate for and against the government. Those paired against are tabulated −; those for, +.

	FOREIGN										DOMESTIC									
	Guam Naval Base 1	Arms Embargo 2	Neutrality Revision 3	Military Airplane Appropriation 4	Conscription Act 5	Lend-Lease 6	First Lend-Lease Appropriation 7	Draft Extension 8	Repeal Ban on Arming Ships 9	Lift Belligerent Zones 10	WPA Bill 11	Public Works Bill 12	NYA Bill 13	Food Stamp Bill 14	Drastic Labor Amendments 15	Property Seizure Bill 16	Smith Anti-Labor-Spy Bill 17	Wolcott Price Control Amendment 18	Dies Committee Extension 19	Power Bill 20
MISSISSIPPI																				
Collins	−	+	+			+			+	+			+	+	−		−	+	−	+
Colmer	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−		+	+	+		+	−	+	−	+
Ford	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+
McGehee	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−		+		+	−	+	−	−	−	−
Rankin	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−		+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+
Whitten																	−	+	−	+
Whittington	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+
MISSOURI																				
Bell	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	
Cannon	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+
Cochran	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−
Duncan	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−
Nelson	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+		+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−
Romjue	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	−	−				−	
Shannon	−	−	−		−	−		−	−	−	+	+		−	+		+	+		
Sullivan						+	+	+	+	+						+	+	+	−	−
Williams	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−
Zimmerman	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+
MONTANA																				
O'Connor	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+		+	−	−	−
NEBRASKA																				
Coffee	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
McLaughlin	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		−	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	−
NEVADA																				
Scrugham	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+		+		+
NEW JERSEY																				
Hart	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	
Norton	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+		+	+	+	+		+
Sutphin	−	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	−		+	+	+		−	+	+	−	+
Wene						+	+	+	+	+						+	+	+	−	
NEW MEXICO																				
Anderson						+	+	+		+						+		−	−	+
NEW YORK																				
Barry	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	
Beiter						+	+	+	+	+						+	+	+	−	−
Bloom	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	+		+	+	+	+	+	−
Buckley	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+		−	
Byrne	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	−	
Capozzoli						+	+	−	+	+						+	+	+	−	
Celler	+	+	+	+	+		+		+	+	+	+	+		+		+	+	+	
Cullen	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	
Delaney	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
Dickstein	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+		+	+	+	+	+	
Fitzpatrick	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
Gavagan	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
Heffernan						+	+	+	+	+						+	+	+		
Kennedy, Martin J.	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	−	
Kennedy, Michael J.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	
Keogh	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	
Klein								+	+	+							+	+	+	
Lynch					+	+	+	+	+	−			+	+	+	+	+	+	−	
Merritt	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		−		+			+	+	+	+	−	
O'Day	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	−		−	+	+	+	+	+					
O'Leary	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−		+	−	−
O'Toole	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	−	−
Pfeifer	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	
Somers		+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
NORTH CAROLINA																				
Barden	−	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	−		+		+	−	+	−	+	−	−
Bonner						+	+	+	+	+						+	−	+	−	−
Bulwinkle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			−		−	+	−	+	−	−
Burgin	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		−		+		+	−	+	−	−
Clark	−	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+		−		+		+	−	+	−	
Cooley	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			+		−	+	−	−	−	−
Doughton	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−		+	+		−	+	−	+	−	−
Durham	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		−	+		−	+	−	+	−	−
Folger								+	+	+						+	+	+	+	−
Kerr		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+		−		+	−	+		+
Weaver	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+		−	+	−	+	−	+
OHIO																				
Claypool	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	−	−
Crosser	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		−
Davis						+	+	−	+	+						+	+		−	−
Harter		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+		+	+	+	+	−	−
Holbrock						+	+	−	+	+						+	+		−	−
Hunter	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	−	−
Imhoff						+	+	−	+	+						+	+	+	−	−
Kirwan	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
Secrest	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−			+		+	−	+	+	−	−
Sweeney		−	−		−	−	−	−	−	−	+				+	−	+	+	−	−
Thom						+	+	−	+	+						+	+	+	−	+
Young						+	+	−	+	+						+	−	+	+	−
OKLAHOMA																				
Boren	−	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	−			+	+	+		−	−	−	−
Cartwright	−	+	+		+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+		−	+	−	+
Disney		+	+		+	+	+	+		+		−	−	+	−		−	−	−	+
Johnson	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−		−	−	−	+
Monroney	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	−	+	−	−
Nichols	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				+	+	−	+	+	−		−	+
Rogers	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+		+	+		+	−	+
Wickersham								+	+	+						+	−	−	−	+
OREGON																				
Pierce	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		−	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+
PENNSYLVANIA																				
Boland	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
Bradley	+	+	+	+	+	+		−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+
Eberharter	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Faddis	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
Flannery	+	+	+		+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	+	+	+			
Haines						+	+	−	+	+						+	+	+	+	−
Kelley						+	+	+	+	−						+	+	+	+	+
McArdle		+	+	+	−	−		−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+					
McGranery	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
Meyers	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
Moser	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−		+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
Sacks	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+		+	+	+	
Scanlon						+	+	−	+	−						+	+	+	+	−
Sheridan					+	+	+	−	+	−				+	+		+	−		
Smith						+	+	−	+	+						+	+	+	−	
Snyder	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				+	−	+	+		+	−	+
Walter	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
Weiss						+	+	−	+	+						+	+		+	
Wright						+	+	+	+	+						+	+	+	+	+
RHODE ISLAND																				
Fogorty						+	+	−	−	−						−	+	+	+	−
Forand						+	+	+	+	−						+	+	+	−	−
SOUTH CAROLINA																				
Bryson	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−
Fulmer	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+
Hare	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+
McMillan	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+		+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+
Richards	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−		−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	
Rivers						+		+	+	+						+	−	+	−	
TENNESSEE																				
Cooper	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+		+	−	+	−	+	−	+
Courtney		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		−	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+
Davis					+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+	−	+	−		−	
Gore	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	
Kefauver		+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
Pearson	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
Priest						+	+	+	+	+						+	−	+	−	+
TEXAS																				
Beckworth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+
Dies		+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+			−	+	−	+	−	−	−	
Gossett	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+		+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+
Johnson, Luther	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	
Johnson, Lyndon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	−			
Kilday	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+		−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
Kleberg	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+		−	+	+	−	+	−	−		
Lanham	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
Mahon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+
Mansfield		+		+	+		+	+	+	−		+		+		+	−	+	−	
Patman	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	−	+	−	+	−	
Patton	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	−	+		+	−	+
Poage	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+
Rayburn	+	+	+	+	+						+	+	−	−	−					
Russell						+	+	+		+						+	−	+	−	−
South	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−		+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	+
Sumners	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	−			−		−	+	−	+	−	
Thomas	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
Thomason	+	+	+	+		+		+	+	+		+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	
West	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		−		+	−	+	−	−		−
Worley						+	+	+	+	−						+	−			
UTAH																				
Granger						+	+	+	+	+						+	+	+	+	+
Robinson	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	−	+	+	+	+	+			+	−	+
VIRGINIA																				
Bland	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−
Burch	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	
Drewry	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			−	−		+	−	+		
Flannagan	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	
Harris								+	+	+						+	−		−	
Robertson	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−
Satterfield	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			−	−	−	−	+		+	−	−
Smith	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−		−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−
Woodrum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−
WASHINGTON																				
Coffee	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+
Hill	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
Jackson						−	+	+	+	+							+	+	+	+
Leavy	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Magnuson	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+			
Smith	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	−	+
WEST VIRGINIA																				
Edmiston	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		−	+		+	+	+	+	−	−
Johnson	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−		−	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	−
Kee	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
Ramsay						+		+	+	+							+	+		+
Randolph	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+		+	+	−	+	−	−
Smith	+	+	+		+	+	+	−	+	+		−			+	+	+	+	−	−
WISCONSIN																				
Wasielewski						+	+	+	+	+						+	−	−	−	−
WYOMING																				
McIntyre						+	+	−	+	+						−	+		+	−
Republicans																				
CALIFORNIA																				
Anderson	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	−		−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
Carter	+	−	−	−	−	−	+		−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−
Englebright	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−
Ford, L.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Gearhart	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	
Hinshaw	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	+		−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−		−	−
Johnson						+	−	−	−	−						−	−	−	−	
Rolph						−	+	−	−	−						−	+	−	−	−
Welch	+	−	−		−	−	+	−	−	−	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	−	
COLORADO																				
Chenoweth						−	−	−	−	−						−		−	−	−
Hill						−	−	−	−	−						−		−	−	−
Rockwell																		−	−	−
CONNECTICUT																				
Talbot																			−	−
IDAHO																				
Dworshak	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
ILLINOIS																				
Allen	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Arends	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Bishop						−	−	−	−	−						−	+	−		
Chiperfield	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Day						−	−	−	−	−						−	+	−	−	
Dewey						−	+	−	−	−						−	+	−		−
Dirksen	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−		−	−	−		−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Heidinger						−	−	−	−	−						−	−	−	−	−
Howell						−	+	−	−	−						−	+	−		
Johnson	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Mason	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Paddock						−	+	−	−	−						−	−	−	−	−
Reed	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
Stratton						−	−	−	−	−						−	+			
Sumner	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
Wheat	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	−	−	−	−	
INDIANA																				
Gillie	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Grant	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
Halleck	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−		−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Harness	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Johnson	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−		−	−	−
Landis	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+		+	−	−		−	−
Springer	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
Wilson						−	−	−	−	−							−	−	−	
IOWA																				
Cunningham						+	+	−	+	+						−	−	−	−	−
Gilchrist	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−		−	−	−	−		−	+	−	−	−	−
Gwynne	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Jensen	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−		−	−
Le Compte	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
Martin	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−		−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−		−
Talle	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
KANSAS																				
Carlson	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Guyer	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Hope	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Lambertson	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
Rees	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Winter	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	−	−
KENTUCKY																				
Robsion	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
MAINE																				
Fellows						−	+	+	+	−						−	−	−	−	−
Oliver	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+
Smith				−	+	+	+	+	+	+			+			+	−	+	−	−
MASSACHUSETTS																				
Bates	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−		+	−	−	−	−
Clason	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−		−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Gifford	−	+	+	−	+	+		−		+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
Holmes	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−		−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
Lane																		+	−	+
Martin	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Rogers	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	[illegible]	−	−	−
Tinkham	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
Treadway	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
Wigglesworth	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
MICHIGAN																				
Blackney	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Bradley	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
Crawford	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Dondero	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Engel	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Hoffman	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Jonkman				−	−	−	−	−	−	−			−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Michener	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Shafer	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−			−	−	−	−	−	−
Wolcott	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Woodruff	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
MINNESOTA																				
Andersen	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Andresen	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Gale						−	−	−	−	−						−		−	+	
Knutson	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Maas	+	−	−	−	+	−	+		−	−	−	−	−	−	−			−		−
O'Hara						−	−	−	−	−								−	−	−
Pittenger	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−		−	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	+
Youngdahl	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−

	FOREIGN										DOMESTIC									
	Guam Naval Base 1	Arms Embargo 2	Neutrality Revision 3	Military Airplane Appropriation 4	Conscription Act 5	Lend-Lease 6	First Lend-Lease Appropriation 7	Draft Extension 8	Repeal Ban on Arming Ships 9	Lift Belligerent Zones 10	WPA Bill 11	Public Works Bill 12	NYA Bill 13	Food Stamp Bill 14	Drastic Labor Amendments 15	Property Seizure Bill 16	Smith Anti-Labor-Spy Bill 17	Wolcott Price Control Amendment 18	Dies Committee Extension 19	Power Bill 20
MISSOURI																				
Bennett						−	−	−	−	−						−	−	−	−	
Ploeser						−	−	−	−	−						−	−	−	−	−
Short	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−			−	−	−	−	−	−	
MONTANA																				
Rankin						−		−	−	−							+	−	−	−
NEBRASKA																				
Copeland						−	−	−	−	−						−	−	−	−	−
Curtis	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−
Stefan	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
NEW HAMPSHIRE																				
Jenks	−	−	−	−	+	−			−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−		
Stearns	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+		−	−	−
NEW JERSEY																				
Canfield						−	+	−	+	−						−	+	−	−	−
Eaton	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Hartley	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
Kean	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−
McLean	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	
Osmers	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−			
Powers	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
Thomas	−	−	+	−	+	+	+		+	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	−	
Vreeland	−	+	+	−	+	−	+		+	+	−	−	−	−	−		−			
Wolverton	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−		−	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	
NEW YORK																				
Andrews	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
Baldwin							+	+	+	+						+		+	+	
Butler								−	−	−						−	+	−	−	−
Cluett	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
Cole	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	−
Crowther	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−
Culkin	−	−	−		+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
Douglas	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−		+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−		
Fish	−	−	−	−	+	−		−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
Gamble	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−
Hall, E.				−	+	−	+	−	+	−			−	−	−		−	−	−	−
Hall, L.	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−
Hancock	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
Kilburn					+	+	+	+	+	+			−	−	−	+	−	−		
O'Brien	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
Pheiffer						−	+	−	+	−						−	−	−	+	−
Reed	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Rockefeller	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Taber	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+		+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
Wadsworth	−	+	+	−	+	+		+	+	+	−	−		−		+	−		−	−
NORTH DAKOTA																				
Burdick	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−
Robertson						−	+	−	−	−						−	−	−	−	−
OHIO																				
Baumhart						−	+	−	−	−						−	−	−	−	−
Bender	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−		−	−	−	−	−	−	−		
Bolton	−			−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		
Brown	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
Clevenger	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Elston	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Hess	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Jenkins	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Jones	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
McGregor					−	−	+	−	−	−			−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Smith	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Vorys	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
OKLAHOMA																				
Rizley						−	+	−	−	−						−	−	−	−	−
OREGON																				
Angell	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
Mott	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	+		−	−	−	−	−	
PENNSYLVANIA																				
Ditter	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Fenton	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−		−	−	−
Gerlach	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
Gillette																		−	−	

	FOREIGN										DOMESTIC									
	Guam Naval Base 1	Arms Embargo 2	Neutrality Revision 3	Military Airplane Appropriation 4	Conscription Act 5	Lend-Lease 6	First Lend-Lease Appropriation 7	Draft Extension 8	Repeal Ban on Arming Ships 9	Lift Belligerent Zones 10	WPA Bill 11	Public Works Bill 12	NYA Bill 13	Food Stamp Bill 14	Drastic Labor Amendments 15	Property Seizure Bill 16	Smith Anti-Labor-Spy Bill 17	Wolcott Price Control Amendment 18	Dies Committee Extension 19	Power Bill 20
Graham	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Jarrett	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	−	−	−		
Kinzer	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Kunkel	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−
Rich	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	−		−	−
Rodgers	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Scott						−	+	−	−	−							−	−	−	−
Simpson	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Tibbott	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−		−	−	−
Van Zandt	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−
Wolfenden	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
SOUTH DAKOTA																				
Case	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−		−	−	−	−
Mundt	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	
TENNESSEE																				
Jennings					−	−	+	−	−	−			−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Reece	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
VERMONT																				
Plumley	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+		−	−	−
WISCONSIN																				
Johns	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
Keefe	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Murray	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
Smith																	+	−	−	−
Stevenson						−	−	−	−	−						−		−	−	−
Thill	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Farmer-Labor																				
MINNESOTA																				
Buckler	−	+	+	+	−	−	+		−	−		+	+	+	+			−	+	
American Labor																				
NEW YORK																				
Marcantonio	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
Progressives																				
WISCONSIN																				
Gehrmann	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+
Hull	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+
Sauthoff						−	−	−	−	−						−	+	−	−	+

No. 1. Guam Naval Base. – In 1938 the House struck out a navy appropriation of $1,000,000 intended for harbor improvements at Guam. In February, 1939, it struck out a similar $5,000,000 provision by a vote of 205-168 (15 Republicans for, 138 against). Work finally started on Guam in 1940. When the Japanese attacked, 1,300 AFL building mechanics fought shoulder to shoulder with the service men, while at the same time, in the Congress which had delayed fortification for two years, anti-labor congressmen went into an orgy of labor baiting.

No. 2. Military Airplane Appropriation. – On June 22, 1939, an amendment to an army appropriation bill, cutting 1,283 planes and $37,000,000 out of the bill, was defeated 217-150. The amendment was offered only two months before the fall of Poland, at a time when Lindbergh and others were claiming that Germany had such air superiority as to make resistance futile. Only 5 Republicans voted against, and 122 for, the amendment. The 122 who voted against these 1,283 planes will probably be out denouncing the President this fall for his conduct of the war.

No. 3. Repeal of Mandatory Arms Embargo. – On June 30, 1939, the House adopted the Vorys (Rep., Ohio) amendment providing for a mandatory embargo on the export of arms and ammunition to belligerent states. This made it impossible to ship necessary supplies to England after her declaration of war on Germany. On this roll call 61 Democrats voted for the embargo and 165 against, while 150 Republicans voted for and only 8 against. The effort to continue the embargo was defeated by a vote of 243-181 on November 2, 1939. It is this latter roll call which is given here.

No. 4. Neutrality Revision. – On November 3, 1939, the House, by a 244-171 vote, modified the neutrality law sufficiently to open the door to more specific aid to the Allies. Even at that late date, only 20 Republicans voted for modification, and 140 voted to retain a law which was completely unrealistic.

No. 5. The Conscription Bill. – By September 9, 1940, the voluntary enlistment system had broken down. The issue of conscription was the issue of both defense and democracy. It is no more democratic, and no more possible, to put military service on a voluntary basis than it is to make taxation voluntary. The conscription bill passed 263-145, with 211 Democrats voting for and 33 against, while 52 Republicans voted for and 112 against.

No. 6. The Lease-Lend Bill. – By 1941 it was clear that if the war were to continue, the United States would have to become in fact the arsenal of democracy. Liberal credit would have to be extended to the nations engaged in the fight against Hitler. On February 6, 1941, the lend-lease bill was passed by a vote of 260 to 165, the most important vote in recent years. It amounted to a declaration that our resources would back the United Nations when their own were exhausted. Twenty-four Republicans voted for the bill and 135 voted against.

No. 7. The First Lease-Lend Appropriations Bill. – During the fight on the lease-lend bill itself, the opposition raised harried cries of dictatorship. After the bill was passed, it became a matter of national policy and the "dictatorship" issue was not involved in voting for appropriations under the terms of the bill. Consequently, except for a very few stanch pacifists, opposition to lease-lend appropriations was mere obstructionism or the reflection of a die-hard anti-British feeling. This first lease-lend appropriations bill for $7,000,000,000 passed on March 19, 1941, was opposed by only 55 Representatives, of whom 45 were Republicans. Since many of the most reactionary isolationists decided to vote for the appropriations, this one vote by no means makes amends for previous or subsequent voting.

No. 8. Extension of the Draft. – On August 12, 1941, the House voted 203-202 to extend the period of service of draftees for eighteen months. This willingness to disband the army, less than four months before Pearl Harbor, shows the complete lack of understanding, among half of our Representatives, of the nature of this war and the consequences to our own people of fascist world control. The Democratic vote was 182 for and 65 against, while 21 Republicans voted for and 133 against.

No. 9. Ban on Arming Ships. – The arming of ships had become necessary if we were to deliver lease-lend material to Britain. The bill repealing the ban was passed on October 17, 1941, by 259-138, with 220 Democrats voting for and 21 against, while 39 Republicans voted for and 113 against.

No. 10. Lifting Belligerent Port and Combat-Zone Bans. – This modification had become necessary in the delivery of lease-lend material to the nations fighting fascism. Only three weeks before Pearl Harbor, it passed by the narrow margin of 212-194, on November 13, 1941. One hundred and eighty-nine Democrats voted for the proposal, 53 against; 22 Republicans voted for and 137 against.

No. 11. The $875,000,000 WPA Relief Bill. – The vote on this bill, January 13, 1939, is the most important one taken on the subject of unemployment relief. More than any other, it shows the attitude of Congress toward the one-third of the nation that is ill fed, ill clothed and ill housed.

During the past eight years more than 8,000,000 people have been employed by the WPA. These workers, with their dependents, total more than 30,000,000 persons, or 25 percent of our 1930 population. A large number of them today are in the armed services or are working in war industries. The salvaging of this large portion of our population by President Roosevelt's relief program, despite the almost unanimous opposition of the reactionaries in Congress, is an important factor in our ability to prosecute a war program.

The WPA appropriation was defeated by 137-226. A reconstruction of the vote showed that only three Republicans supported the bill.

No. 12. The Self-Liquidating Public-Works Bill. – In 1939 President Roosevelt advocated spending $3,000,000,000 on self-liquidating public works. Various items were stricken from the bill, until only $1,615,000,000 remained. Then, on August 1, 1939, a coalition of Republicans and recalcitrant Democrats voted, 193-167, not to consider the measure at all. No Republicans voted for the bill, 146 against.

No. 13. The NYA Appropriation Bill. – This bill, which passed by 221-157 on March 28, 1940 (with 28 Republicans voting for and 125 against), was a bill to increase the funds for the National Youth Administration. On the same day an almost identical vote was taken on the Civilian Conservation Corps. It is significant that the bitterness of the conservatives' opposition to the administration's youth program is second only to its opposition to labor.

Altogether, the New Deal youth program since its inception has trained 3,000,000 young men in the CCC, and under the NYA has helped 2,250,000 young people attend high school and college, at the same time giving another

2,250,000 other types of out-of-school training. During 1942 the conservatives in Congress and the nation's press made a concerted effort to destroy the CCC and the NYA. This was particularly significant because at the time three-fourths of the NYA's efforts were devoted to training 130,000 young people for war industries. Another 75,000 were in private and vocational schools, and nearly 300,000 in industry. But at the same time 1,700,000 young people were being given technical training in Germany, and 3,000,000 a year had received such training during the years just before the war.

No. 14. The Food-Stamp Plan. – The roll call on May 9, 1940, maintained the Federal Food Stamp Plan by a vote of 191-173. Of the Republicans, 17 voted for the plan, 105 against. This vote is used here because it is more revealing than the votes on many of the larger appropriations designed to achieve farm parity. The stand of the Representatives on this measure is a comment on their attitude both toward the farm problem and toward the unemployed.

The Republican platforms of 1936 and 1940 virtually endorsed the New Deal agricultural program, only promising more competent administration. None the less, the roll calls in Congress have belied their good faith. On the first farm-parity-payment vote, on March 28, 1939, 20 Republicans voted for and 135 against. On the second vote, June 22, 1939, 24 Republicans voted for and 129 against. On May 9, 1940, 23 Republicans voted for and 131 against an appropriation of $212,000,000 for farm-parity payments. Republicans from the rural areas which are benefited vote for the New Deal farm program, while the others vote against it. It is strange that Republican farmers do not seem to be able to see through this duplicity.

If the Democratic members had not voted four or five to one in favor of the administration's farm program, the nation's farm income could not have risen, as it did, from less than five billions in 1933 to nearly twelve in 1941.

Nos. 15 and 17. Labor. – Two votes, one on the drastic Smith amendments to the Wagner Act (June 7, 1940), and the other on the Smith anti-strike bill (December 3, 1941), are included. Most of the votes on these two bills are identical, but the exceptions are illuminating.

The real and determined opposition to fascism has arisen in the ranks of labor. The working people everywhere have been the first to realize that fascism means industrial slavery for them. Our own effective resistance to fascism will depend on that realization, which in turn depends upon the extent to which labor is organized and aware. When President Roosevelt took office there were barely 2,500,000 dues-paying members of organized labor in the United States. Today the American Federation of Labor, the CIO and the railroad brotherhoods have well over 10,000,000 members. The President's backing of labor and its right to bargain collectively is responsible for this success. Without that backing, labor would have neither Section 7A of the NIRA nor the Wagner Labor Relations Act.

These two roll calls should not be the exclusive criteria to indicate whether a member is entitled to the support of working people, but they provide a clear test of a Representative's attitude toward labor organization.

No. 16. The Property-Seizure Bill. – On August 5, 1941, this bill, passed by 240-133, gave the President the power during the emergency to requisition military or naval equipment or supplies needed for defense, including machinery, tools and equipment for their manufacture. NOTE: 52 Republicans voted for the conscription of men, while only 25 were willing to vote for the conscription of property necessary for defense, even where the owner was paid a fair price, with the right of appeal to a federal court.

No. 18. The Wolcott Amendment to the Price-Control Bill. – The Wolcott amendment, which was defeated by 210-189, on January 6, 1942, was intended to replace Leon Henderson as administrator by a five-man board, and to eliminate the licensing feature, the real teeth in the bill. It was an effort to emasculate a vitally necessary piece of the domestic war program. The vote on this amendment indicates whether the members were willing to go along with the administration on the first requirements of an all-out war program, or whether the game was to be "politics as usual."

No. 19. The Dies Committee. – By March 11, 1942, when this vote came up, every member of Congress knew that for more than three years Dies had conducted an irresponsible smear campaign against all liberals in the New Deal, as a means of destroying what the President had accomplished. So well had he succeeded that, according to the FCC monitor service, he was "the man most frequently and approvingly quoted" on the Axis radio. Dies, whether or not a conscious fascist, has consistently played the fascist game. The Axis needs the Dies Committee—we don't.

No. 20. Power. – On March 27, 1942, Congress, by a vote of 117-202, killed appropriations for the Table Rock and Bull Shoals developments on the White River in Missouri, although they had been urged by all the war agencies, including the Army and Navy Munitions Board, and had been approved in the Senate. Of the Republicans, 3 voted for and 125 against, while 36 did not vote. Of the Democrats, 110 voted for and 77 against, with 75 not voting.

The power trust is stronger in Washington today than at any time since 1932. Members of Congress, even on war issues, follow the dictates of the power trust rather than requirements of national defense. According to Chairman Leland Olds of the Federal Power Commission, "War production will soon require annually more than all the electricity sold by central station electrical systems, both public and private, for all purposes in the country in 1940." This means that within a year there will be widespread rationing of power. Many non-defense factories will be closed down, for no other reason than a power shortage.

When the New Deal came into office, five percent of installed generating capacity was public. Today the figure is 16 percent. The TVA last year generated 5,556,000,000 k.w.h., much of it now making aluminum for airplanes. And we might now be generating 13,200,000,000 k.w.h. on the St. Lawrence project if the power trust's influence had not killed the measure in 1934. It is clear where we would be today if the power trust had won out completely. It, and its stooges in Congress, fear increased capacity, particularly public capacity, more than they do a Hitler victory.

The Evidence: II

	FOREIGN										DOMESTIC									
	Continue Mandatory Arms Embargo 3/31/39 1	Administration Neutrality Law 10/27/39 2	Conscription Law 8/28/40 3	Limit Use of Armed Forces to Western Hemisphere 3/7/41 4	$2,000,000,000 Loan v. Lease-Lend 3/8/41 5	Lease-Lend Bill 3/8/41 6	No Transfer of Axis Ships to Britain 5/15/41 7	18-Month Extension of Military Training 8/7/41 8	Keep Belligerent Port and Combat-Zone Bans 11/7/41 9	Neutrality Act Revision 11/7/41 10	$112,000,000 for Gilbertville Dam in TVA 5/12/37 11	Recommit the President's Court Plan 7/22/37 12	Byrd $4,000 Limitation in Housing Bill 8/4/37 13	Government Reorganization Bill 3/28/38 14	Reduce $875,000,000 Relief Bill by $150,000,000 1/27/39 15	Government Surtax at $3,000 Net Income 6/22/39 16	Wheeler Amendment to Self-Liquidating Public Works Bill 7/28/39 17	Cut CCC by $25,000,000 4/25/40 18	Passage of Anti-Labor-Spy Bill 5/27/40 19	Terminate Issue of Tax-Exempt Bonds 9/19/40 20
Democrats																				
Bailey, N.C.	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−
Bankhead, Ala.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				+	−	−	+	−		−
Brown, Mich.	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	−		+	+
Bulow, S.D.	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+
Bunker, Nev.				+	+	+	+	+	+	+										
Chandler, Ky.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+								+	−	−
Doxie, Miss.									+	+										
Ellender, La.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
Glass, Va.	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+		−	−	−	−	+			−	−
Green, R.I.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+
Hatch, N.M.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−
Herring, Ia.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−		+		+	−
Hughes, Del.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	−	+		+	−
Johnson, Col.	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−
Lee, Okla.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+		+		+
Murray, Mont.	+	+	−	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	−	+	+	+		+	+	+	+
O'Daniel, Tex.								−	+	+										
Rosier, W.V.								+	+	+										
Russell, Ga.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−		+	−	+	−	−		+
Schwartz, Wyo.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		−
Smathers, NJ	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+	−
Spencer, Ark.							+	+	+	+										
Stewart, Tenn.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+					+		−	+	+	−
Republicans																				
Ball, Minn.				+	+	+	+	+	+	+										
Bridges, N.H.	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	−	−
Brooks, Ill.				−	−	−	−	−	−	−										
Capper, Kan.	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−		+	+
Lodge, Mass.	−	−	+	−	−	+	−		−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+
McNary, Ore.	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−		−	−	−	−	−		+		−
Thomas, Idaho				−	−	−	−	−	−	−										+
White, Me.	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−
Independent																				
Norris, Neb.	+	+	−	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+		+	+	+	−		+	+

No. 1. March 31, 1939. – Continue mandatory arms embargo. Same issue as in House vote. At this time Poland had fallen and France and England were at war.

No. 2. October 27, 1939. – Passage of administration neutrality bill. Same issue as in House vote.

No. 3. August 28, 1940. – Conscription law. Same issue as in House vote.

No. 4. March 7, 1941. – Limit use of armed forces to Western Hemisphere. This was merely an effort to prevent effective aid to Allied countries.

No. 5. March 8, 1941. – The proposal of a loan of $2,000,000,000 as opposed to lease-lend. A wholly inadequate substitution for lease-lend.

No. 6. March 8, 1941. – Lease-lend bill. The most important vote on foreign policy.

No. 7. May 15, 1941. – No transfer of Axis ships to Great Britain. Merely an effort to oppose the President's foreign policies.

No. 8. August 7, 1941. – An eighteen-month extension of military training. Same issue as in House vote.

No. 9. November 7, 1941. – Keep belligerent port and combat-zone bans. Same issue as in House vote.

No. 10. November 7, 1941. – Neutrality Act Revision. Passed.

No. 11. May 12, 1937. – The $112,000,000 appropriation for construction of Gilbertville Dam in the TVA. This is a straight vote for the TVA or against it.

No. 12. July 22, 1937. – Motion to recommit the President's court bill. This vote furnished a clear indication of whether a member was for the President in his Supreme Court fight or against him.

No. 13. August 4, 1937. – Amendment by Senator Byrd to housing bill, limiting cost to $4,000 per unit. Senator Wagner said that this amendment would destroy his housing bill by making it unworkable. With the housing shortage that has developed today, the attitude of Senators on adequate housing is particularly in point.

No. 14. March 28, 1938. – Government reorganization bill.

No. 15. January 27, 1939. – The $875,000,000 relief bill. Same proposal as in House vote on relief.

No. 16. June 22, 1939. – Surtax on incomes to start at $3,000 rather than $4,000. A minimal test of statesmanship. Obviously people in the income bracket from $5,000 to $10,000 should have paid higher income taxes in this period than they did.

No. 17. July 28, 1939. – The President's $3,000,000,000 self-liquidating public-works bill was whittled down in the Senate by a series of amendments which eliminated $500,000,000 for toll roads, and the Wheeler amendment eliminating $350,000,000 which was to be loaned to railroads for the purpose of building equipment. In view of the present shortage of railroad equipment the vote on the Wheeler amendment is timely.

No. 18. April 25, 1940. – Senate vote which sought to cut CCC appropriations by $25,000,000.

No. 19. May 27, 1940. – Revised anti-labor-spy bill. Passed.

No. 20. September 19, 1940. – To terminate further issue of tax-exempt securities. An illuminating vote.

The Obstructionists

IT IS NEVER EASY to single out individuals for censure. For one reason, those who are picked have different failings, act upon different motives, and vary in their responsibility for obstructing our program of full mobilization. The men named cannot be regarded as constituting a single group, and great caution must be exercised in associating them with each other. Yet these men, for various reasons, have formed the main bottlenecks in our program of the last two years.

HAMILTON FISH, Republican, of Dutchess County, New York, is closer to the Nazis than any other man in Congress. Stemming from the time in August, 1939, when Fish talked to von Ribbentrop and afterwards announced that the Nazi claims were "just," his hatred for the administration has led him beyond the extreme limits of reasonable democratic opposition. He has spoken at German Day meetings, in halls where Nazi flags were displayed and Nazi songs sung. He has contributed an article to Today's Challenge, a Nazi propaganda magazine published by the Hitler agent, Dr. Frederick Auhagen. Fish's opposition to America's foreign policy led him to become an intimate of the notorious Nazi agent, George Sylvester Viereck, for whom he performed services in Congress. When these services, centering around the abuse of the congressional franking privilege for the distribution of Nazi propaganda, were exposed to a grand jury, Fish attempted to sacrifice his secretary, George Hill, in order to protect himself. Fearing a long sentence, Hill turned state's evidence and told of activities which Fish had sworn did not exist. Today the Republican Party, which so long followed Fish, no longer cares to associate itself with him. Yet Fish is still campaigning: it is by no means certain that he will be defeated.

STEPHEN DAY, Republican, of Evanston, Illinois, has been a member of the House of Representatives only since 1940, but in that short time his actions have established him as a perfect Chicago Tribune Representative. Day has consistently voted against all bills designed to strengthen our defense. Day's speeches follow the propaganda line of the Axis; at times they sound as if they had just been picked up from the short-wave radio. Broadcasting on September 8, 1941, Day announced that "the threat of an invasion by Hitler of our own soil or any part of the Western Hemisphere has vanished into thin air." In this same speech, Day took a crack at the administration: "Bear in mind, my friends, I am reading from the official book of the Communists in America and not from the New Deal program. Can you see any difference?"

Day is the proud author of an anti-British book, "We Must Save the Republic," originally published by Flanders Halls, a dummy outfit financed by George Dennett, whose Nazi activities are notorious. When attacked on this score, Day arose on the floor of the House and announced that he had had the book reprinted at his own expense by Shaw, an American publisher. Visitors to Mr. Shaw's so-called publishing house can find only Flanders Hall books on display.

Representative Day has sent out more Nazi propaganda under his frank than any other member of Congress. On September 4, 1941, in Detroit, Day spoke under the auspices of the Committee of One Million, the organization of the notorious American fascist, Gerald L. K. Smith. On September 29, Stephen Day offered his radio audience the following ultimatum: "We have presented to us a clear choice and it is this: Follow the Constitution or follow the President. If you follow the Constitution, we can stay out of war and keep faith with the American people. If you follow the President you will be untrue to the people and your oath of office."

CLARE E. HOFFMAN, Republican, of Allegan, Michigan, was first elected to Congress in 1934. He belongs to that small group in Congress which deserves to be classified as almost conscious fascists.

For the past few weeks Hoffman has been busily occupied before a Grand Jury trying to explain away the 145,000 copies of his inflammatory speech "Don't Haul Down the Stars and Stripes," which were distributed by William Kullgren, editor of the pro-Nazi Beacon Light, under Hoffman's frank. Recently Kullgren predicted that President Roosevelt would be assassinated, and added: "If the people fail to act I am satisfied that Divinity will."

The Hoffman record is almost 100-percent bad on both foreign and domestic issues. Pearl Harbor did not get in the way of his rabid isolationism. In June of 1941, Clare Hoffman was suggesting that President Roosevelt be impeached. On January 27, 1942, Hoffman was saying, "The Commander-in-Chief, of course, got us into this thing, when he himself had failed to prepare to meet it, and here we are." On February 6, 1942, Hoffman's deep and consuming hatred of the President spewed out: "'Dust thou art; unto dust thou shalt return.' Since his day, millions of people have been born and all have died, and there is no reason to believe that Franklin Delano Roosevelt will not go the way of all flesh."

PAUL SHAFER, Republican, of Battle Creek, Michigan, since he came to Congress in 1937 has been trying to ape Clare Hoffman. His record is almost identical with Hoffman's and, like Hoffman's, his speeches are full of venomous attacks upon our government and our allies. In particular, attacks made by Shafer upon Union Now and the British have followed closely, both in their timing and in their spirit, similar attacks in Social Justice, Publicity, The Galilean and other magazines which the government has suppressed as seditious. He too deserves to be classified with the almost conscious fascists in the Congress.

HOWARD SMITH, Democrat, of Alexandria, Virginia, has been kept in Congress since 1931 by the votes of about ten percent of the citizens of his poll-tax district. Smith has done as thorough a job of disrupting our war morale by his incessant attacks on labor as Martin Dies has done by his methods. Smith's voting record shows not one vote in the interests of the poor man in his district.

In addition to a voting record reflecting black reaction, Howard Smith has a personal record not entirely free from blemishes. When the federal government was planning the great Memorial Highway from Washington to Mount Vernon, Howard Smith grabbed up land along the right of way and attempted to sell it to the government at fancy prices. When the War Department planned a huge new office building across the river in Virginia, Smith, through some partners, purchased a large tract of land on which they have built flimsy houses which are being sold to government workers at exorbitant profits.

Howard Smith is a prominent member of the Virginia Milk Producers' Association, an organization of the big dairy farmers in the area, which controls 85 to 90 percent of the milk in the Washington area. Through the Association, small dairy farmers are barred from selling in Washington by unduly restrictive license requirements and the Washington consumer also takes the rap in higher prices.

From his strategic position on the Rules Committee, Smith is able to be an effective bottleneck for progressive measures and a vigorous expediter of all anti-labor legislation. As an obstructionist he is outstanding.

MARTIN DIES, Democrat, of Orange, Texas, who came to Congress in 1931, has been so clearly acting in the best interests of the Axis governments that he is now the most frequently quoted American on Axis broadcasts sent to this hemisphere. A report of the Federal Communications Commission on Dies states: "Representative Dies received as many favorable references in Axis propaganda to this country as any living American public figure. His opinions were quoted by the Axis without criticism at any time."

Dies's principal contributions to the war effort have been so to harass important government officials like Leon Henderson with ridiculous charges of subversive activities that they have had to stop essential war business in order to defend themselves. In addition, Dies has found time to sow discord and mistrust between us and our allies, particularly the Soviet Union. Recently Vice President Wallace declared that "doubts and anger which statements of Mr. Dies tend to arouse in the public mind might as well come from Goebbels himself as far as their practical effect is concerned."

WILLIAM PURNELL LAMBERTSON, Republican, of Fairview, Kansas, has been a member of the House since the year 1929. Starting out as a liberal, he became an obstructionist on domestic issues and has made some of the wildest attacks upon the President of any member of Congress. Lambertson is one of the solid core of diehards who fought every act of foreign policy and distorted every issue. In the House on February 17, 1942, of this year, these words of resignation can give his constituents little cheer: "I voted for the declaration of war. Nobody would have told me that I would on the sixth of December, but I did. We were maneuvered into it."

HAROLD KNUTSON, Republican, of St. Cloud, Minnesota, originally came in as a liberal. Now Knutson can always be counted on to do his best with a nasty tongue and a little mind to obstruct our victory drive.

In March, 1941, Knutson said: "I am wondering if some of this feeling displayed against Hitler at the other end of the Avenue is not inspired by reason of the fact that Hitler has been crowding certain individuals for front-page notice in the newspapers." By October, 1941, "Indeed I am not sure that this administration is not prepared to plunge the country into war before election if that becomes necessary for the success of the third term." Pearl Harbor did not even slow him down. March 23, 1942: "Will Americans graciously bow down to all the totalitarian decrees which will restrict their sugar, their motor cars, their oil, their apparel, their way of life and their pocketbooks simply to satisfy the ambitions of those who understand victory to be the complete overthrow of their enemies?"

EUGENE COX, Democrat, of Camilla, Georgia, has served nine terms, eighteen years in the House, and has a right to vie with Howard Smith for high rank as a labor-baiter. Cox is now under investigation by the Department of Justice for alleged violation of a federal statute which forbids a congressman to accept money for especially representing a private client before an agency of the government. Cox may be indicted for doing special favors for the Herald Broadcasting Company of Albany, Georgia. The FBI is interested in an exchange of checks for $2,500 between Cox and the company in August, 1941.

Gene Cox has consistently voted against the best interests of the little man, the poor man in his district, for eighteen years. But after all, it was the moderately well off who voted for him. It costs two dollars to vote in poll-tax Georgia and a good many plain citizens have heretofore felt it wasn't worth the trouble and the money—if they had it—to go down to the polls and say what they felt about Gene. It was only seven percent of his district's voters who sent Cox back to the House in 1942.

Cox has consistently voted with the President on foreign-policy matters for the last two years, but in the cloakrooms he is said to have stated that he was voting that way only because he had to stay within the folds of the Democratic Party in the South and that personally he agreed with the isolationist position.

WILLIAM B. BARRY, Democrat, of Queens County, New York, who came to the House in 1935, has been an ardent proponent of America First. He has consistently opposed practically all important foreign issues which have come before the House since 1939. At an America First rally in Queens during November, 1941, Barry made this statement on foreign affairs: "We can not only trade with Hitler, but can make a nice profit doing so." On two occasions in November, 1941, Barry shared America First platforms with the convicted Nazi agent, Laura Ingalls.

FRANK KEEFE, Republican, of Oshkosh, Wisconsin, came to Congress in 1939, from a lucrative law practice. His voting record is completely bad on foreign and domestic issues, even more so than that of other reactionary members of the Wisconsin delegation.

Keefe has assumed the role of a principal apologist for the Dies Committee on the floor of the House.

LELAND FORD, Republican, of Santa Monica, California, had been in the real-estate business for nineteen years before he came to Congress in 1934. Ford has got where he is today, in the opinion of astute California political observers, not so much on his own ability as by trading on the possible chances for mistaken identity among himself, Rep. Thomas Ford and John Anson Ford, both of whom are New Dealers. Leland Ford has taken advantage of the voters' confusion on this score and has also traded on California's pernicious system of cross filings which permits him to file both as a Republican and as a Democrat, further adding to the confusion.

Although Ford's voting record looks comparatively reasonable, he has a great way of voting to recommit in the House.

Leland Ford was the leader in the attack on Mrs. Roosevelt and the Office of Civilian Defense. He is consistently anti-labor and anti-public power and public housing. Prejudice led him, in the OCD debate, to refer constantly to "Melvyn Douglas, *alias* Hesselberg," confirming the charge of Representative Engel that "a man need only be pro-labor and Jewish to be damned on the floor of the House."

CHARLES FADDIS, Democrat of Waynesburg, Pennsylvania, came to Congress when the Democrats first regained the state in 1934. Since soon after he came to Washington his colleagues have seen him become more and more violent in his attacks on every humane or progressive measure.

Faddis vies with Hoffman in venomous language. He has supported the administration foreign policy consistently, but has fought the administration on farm, labor and public-power measures. As chairman of a Military Affairs Subcommittee Faddis hired the notorious Edmund Toland, former counsel of the Smith anti-labor committee. He used his position to exonerate big business for all failure in defense production and to place all the blame on labor. On February 6, 1942, Faddis revealed an innate prejudice when he praised "that matchless and heroic soldier General MacArthur battling in the forests of the Philippines every day, every hour—yes even every minute—in danger of his life, to preserve the fate of the white race in the Orient."

EVERETT DIRKSEN, Republican, of Pekin, Illinois, has been a strong opponent of many vital foreign and domestic measures, in spite of the fact that he is one of the abler men in the House. He has voted consistently against the President's foreign policy, and has voted for the Smith bill and other anti-labor legislation. Dirksen has taken the part of the Farm Bureau Federation and the well-to-do farmer against the Farm Security Administration and has been a leader in opposing public power.

DEWEY SHORT, Republican, of Galena, Missouri, is one of the cleverest, most violent demagogues in the House. His speeches denouncing each measure of resistance to the Nazi challenge have been wild, extravagant and often cheap. As much as any man he has distorted the issues before the American people and the very violence of his language has given him a following in Congress among weaker men. Not long before Pearl Harbor, Short declared, "I am proud that I led the fight against the selective-service bill."

JOSHUA LEROY JOHNS, Republican member from Appleton, Wisconsin, since 1938, is a political accident. In the battle between the Democrats and the Progressives, Mr. Johns somehow got elected by a couple of thousand votes. Because he thinks it politically expedient, Mr. Johns has been an isolationist; in fact he went so far as to make speeches before America First groups in Southern California during the summer of 1941. Mr. Johns also feels that the President is really responsible for Pearl Harbor, and remarks regretfully, "As you know, I was opposed to getting into this war, but we talked ourselves in and we have to fight ourselves out" (The Congressional Record, Jan. 9, 1942).

In 1933, Johns was president of the International Kiwanians, who, plus the Republican Party, are responsible for his presence in the House today. For many years Mr. Johns has been interested in a business belonging to his first wife, known as the Algoma Plywood and Veneer Company. The employees of this company were paid the munificent sum of ten cents an hour over a long period of time. In June of 1941, the AFL attempted to organize the plant, and met with such resistance that the case finally came before the NLRB, where the findings proved the management guilty of unfair labor practices. Mr. Johns may well find that the home folks will have none of him, that in Wisconsin as well as in other parts of the country, politics of the isolation type are out for the duration.

MARTIN SWEENEY, Democrat, of Cleveland, Ohio, has served in the House since 1931. Sweeney has boasted of the fact that he is Father Coughlin's man in Congress. His violent anti-British statements both before and after Pearl Harbor have won him the nickname of "the Big Bill Thompson" of Cleveland.

Sweeney's voting record on domestic issues has been good with a few recent exceptions, as for instance his recent vote with the power trust on the Table Rock Dam issue. On foreign affairs, he has been directly opposed to the President's policies and has been a leader of the isolationists at every test. He introduced Charles Lindbergh at a Cleveland rally last fall and was an active America First worker and speaker. Last month the voters of Cleveland defeated Sweeney two to one in the Democratic mayoralty primary after a whirlwind campaign in which he spent most of his energy attacking Roosevelt's foreign policy and, on the positive side, advocated bingo.

JOHN RANKIN, Democrat, of Tupelo, Mississippi, has been in the Congress continuously since 1921. Rankin has supported the President's foreign policy. His only claim to praise is that he has been a real leader in the public-power fight. Aside from that, however, he is opposed to all other progressive administration measures. He is anti-alien, anti-Semitic and perhaps the most bitter anti-Negro individual in the Congress.

KARL MUNDT, Republican, of Madison, South Dakota, who came to Congress in 1939, has been extremely active as an America First speaker, appearing on Eastern platforms with Ham Fish and others, as well as in his native Middle West. He was used especially as a speaker for rallies in German-American communities; his pro-fascist tendencies have been quite clearly indicated in these public addresses.

Mundt characterized the Lease-Lend Act in this manner: "H. R. 1776 is a new declaration of independence, of, by and for the Executive. It is also a funeral dirge for an independent and effective Congress."

JAMES VAN ZANDT, Republican, of Altoona, Pennsylvania, came to Congress in 1939, largely through his strength with the veterans' organizations. His district is a large railroad center and traditionally companies like the Pennsylvania Railroad have a keen interest in the political affairs of the district. Van Zandt, who was trained in the Pennsylvania Railroad Apprentice School and later worked for the company, can be counted on to lobby for the railroads on the floor today.

Van Zandt has been an important America Firster and at one such rally he permitted booing and hissing of the President and himself said that the President should be impeached.

JOSEPH STARNES, Democrat, of Guntersville, Alabama, has been in the Congress since 1934. National fame first came to him when, as a member of the Dies Committee, he sought to establish Christopher Marlowe as an American Communist. He subsequently exposed a National Labor Relations Board employee as a Communist by reason of the fact that he had visited Mexico and studied anthropology. Starnes has proved a conscientious understudy to Martin Dies. Never has he questioned any action of his mentor. Never has he voted for the domestic legislation of the New Deal, except the TVA, which is so popular in his district that he dare not oppose it. Perhaps it is significant that the kind of anti-labor violence Starnes advocates occurs with startling regularity in his district, where vigilantes abound.

THOMAS WINTER, Republican, of Girard, Kansas, came to Congress in 1938 and, contrary to custom among novice members, immediately began to speak out against public-power measures in a manner reminiscent of monopoly-interest spokesmen for years past.

Winter's voting record is bad on foreign as well as domestic issues, but his principal energy here has gone into hamstringing the Rural Electrification Administration, Bonneville and other public-power projects.

HARRY COFFEE, Democrat, of Chadron, Nebraska, although he has been in the House only since 1939, is one of the House's most conservative Democrats. He is bad on both foreign and domestic issues. He has been quoted in Nebraska papers as calling the President a dictator.

Although Harry Coffee comes from the good cattle country of northwest Nebraska, he seems to have divorced himself from his constituents, their ideas and their way of living.

J. PARNELL THOMAS, Republican, of Allendale, New Jersey, has a clear record as a reactionary isolationist. Thomas has been a rubber stamp to Dies on the Dies Committee. His chief claim to fame rests on his persistent efforts to impeach Frances Perkins.

Thomas gave a rather full exposition of his views on the state of the world at an American Defense Society luncheon in April, 1941, when he said that the only way to solve our problems is to get rid of Sidney Hillman and Frances Perkins. He described how he and Dies uncovered the Bund and Pelley, and went on to identify communism as the real menace to America, implying at the same time that the philosophy of the Communists and the New Deal are the same.

JAMES FRANCIS O'CONNOR, Democrat, of Livingston, Montana, came to the House in 1935. During the last term, he has served principally as a stooge for Burton K. Wheeler. An active America Firster, O'Connor was a familiar sight on America First platforms throughout the country. He has been a bitter and sarcastic critic of the President and the administration.

FREDERICK SMITH, Republican, of Marion, Ohio, a physician, was first elected in 1939. His isolationist position extends back to the last war, and his anti-New Deal position extends back to its beginning.

Smith thinks of himself in the old Ohio Republican tradition of McKinley and the rest and holds what might be called a McKinley gold bias. He votes regularly in the interest of the private-power companies and thus to the benefit of his friends in the Marion Reserve Power Company. He operates the Smith Clinic for male diseases, which is not looked upon without criticism by other members of the Ohio medical profession. He finds time in the Congress to introduce numerous measures for the benefit of Dr. Tucker's Asthma Specific, a patent medicine made in his district which has had difficulties because of the pure-food-and-drug laws.

SENATORS

C. WAYLAND "CURLY" BROOKS, Republican Senator from Illinois since 1940, has found real buddies among the Ku Klux Klanners. On August 27, 1940, at Rockford, Illinois, Senator Brooks spoke to 60,000 Klansmen and stamped this hate-renascence party with the prestige of his high office. Brooks would appear to be the Congress' prize anomaly. Wounded seven times in the World War, decorated with the Croix de Guerre, the Distinguished Service Cross and the American Navy Cross, this war finds the Senator echoing the Nazi propaganda line. In his private war against the President, Brooks has used every known device to discredit the government. His sarcasm at the National Republican Club well expresses his sentiment. "There is already a propaganda movement to offer the United States what was offered France, citizenship in the British Empire. We are being asked to join up and pay our back dues since 1776." With the exception of the lease-lend, Brooks has opposed all bills designed to strengthen our defense. As a prominent America Firster, his pictures adorn their posters and their literature. He is the senatorial spokesman for Col. Robert McCormick's Chicago Tribune.

W. LEE "PAPPY" O'DANIEL, Democrat, of Fort Worth, Texas, left his job as Governor to fill out the term of Senator Morris Sheppard in 1941.

He announced as he got off the train in Washington that his principal aim was to put through the same kind of anti-labor legislation he had foisted on Texas. O'Daniel has met with a cold reception from his colleagues. "Pappy" has spent most of his time in Washington introducing anti-strike and other anti-labor bills and making speeches on the evils of liquor.

O'Daniel's first vote on foreign policy after he came to the Senate followed the Nye-Wheeler isolationists' leadership, but the protests from back home have forced him to reverse his votes if not his convictions.

ARTHUR CAPPER, Republican. The silver-haired gentleman from Topeka is now serving his sixth term in the Senate. In an issue of Social Justice, April 22, 1940, we find the following tribute, "Senator Capper shuns politics in favor of sound statesmanship." In Scribner's Commentator for February of 1941, we find a piece by Mr. Capper entitled "Time to Think American." "Whether we like it or not we should make up our minds that we have to live in the same world with Stalin, Mussolini and Hitler, or *their successors*. There is no reason why we should not have peaceful relations with the world, if we cease playing the role of international meddlesome Mattie and confine our activities to our own proper sphere."

In naming these twenty-three Representatives and three Senators, we have not the slightest intention of implying that they alone were the obstructionists or that others may be forgiven. A list of Representatives who thoroughly deserve to be beaten, would include also Representatives Andresen, Bennett, Bradley (of Michigan), Buck, Clevenger, Crawford, Dewey, Disney, Hartley, Hobbs, Jenkins, Jonkman, Mott, Pheiffer, Reed, Miss Sumner, Thill and Woodruff. Perhaps forty others have records at least as bad as these. In the House, perhaps the most dangerous man of all, since he is one of the most powerful, is Joseph Martin. In every case, of course, no hard and fast rule can be laid down on the basis of the record alone. Final judgment can only be made between alternatives. Such a candidate for office as Gerald L. K. Smith, reputed to be the one-time holder of a membership card number 3223 in William Dudley Pelley's Silver Shirts and now contestant for the seat of Senator Prentiss M. Brown of Michigan, is worse than any man now in the House or Senate. On the other hand, it is often easier for a new man to make a fresh start than for men who were mistaken to admit their mistakes. Only common-sense judgment in each case can decide.

What You Can Do

THIS WAR is being fought by the United Nations largely for the right of the individual to be heard. The purpose of this supplement is to help you make yourself heard, concretely, in the coming election.

If you want information about men already in Congress, much of it is in these pages and you can get more by writing to The New Republic or the Union for Democratic Action. If a candidate is not now in Congress, write to him for material about himself, or call at his campaign headquarters. It's a good idea to get the editor of the local paper to print short biographies of all the candidates.

Always remember that the great issue of this election is the victory of democracy. Get together Republicans, Democrats, members of any other party, and non-party people in your locality who believe that fascism must be crushed and democracy strengthened as part of the same victory. Form a non-partisan committee and present to every candidate who seeks your vote the following basic questionnaire:

Will you support the Commander-in-Chief until fascism is crushed?

Will you do everything within your power to provide the fullest American participation in the peace settlement and in the international order that will follow the war?

Will you do everything within your power to strengthen democracy, to preserve unity, to expose the divisionists and the appeasers, here on the home front?

Will you insist upon the maintenance at all times of our constitutional rights?

Add to this list your own questions to your candidate. If any one of them hedges in any way on these pledges, reject him. Pick the man who, you believe, is best suited to carry them out.

When you have made up your mind which candidate to support, whether in a primary or in the final election, *your real campaign begins*.

Start with your immediate neighbors, the people on your block, or if you live in the country, your nearest friends or acquaintances in your voting district. Call a meeting at your own house in the evening, to talk over ways to help your candidate. If you live in a town or city, suggest to friends in other parts of the community that they form similar groups of their immediate neighbors. Then let each of these groups appoint a delegate to a citywide or township committee. Go to the local headquarters of your party and tell them what you are doing, and get their help. Arrange meetings and ask your candidate to come and speak. Also attend meetings of his opponents and ask searching questions.

Go out and canvass for your candidate. Don't be afraid to ring the doorbells of strangers, no matter how shy you may be as an individual. Most people will respect your motives and treat you courteously.

Start a letter-writing campaign in the local newspapers on behalf of your candidate. Plan your letters in a series of three or five and don't try to tell the whole story in any one of them.

Ask the pastor of your church to hold one or several political meetings on week nights in the church, at which the various candidates, or representatives of them, can be heard.

Offer a small prize for an essay contest in the local public schools on the qualities we want in our congressmen. Persuade three well known local citizens to serve as judges.

Make rough tentative drafts of letters to the papers to be signed and mailed by prominent citizens, supporting your candidate. There is no impropriety in offering such an individual a memorandum of the points that you feel ought to be covered in a letter by him.

Ask the local radio station for time on the air to describe the kind of candidate that ought to be elected to Congress. If you can ask this in the name of one of the political parties, it will be very difficult, under the law, for the manager to refuse.

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